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SPIRITUAL VALUES IN ADULT EDUCATION

A Study of a Neglected Aspect

BY
BASIL A. YEAXLEE
B.A., PH.D.

VOLUME TWO

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PREFATORY NOTE TO VOLUME II.

While this Volume is, in a sense, complete in itself, it would lose a great part of its significance if read apart from the study of general principles and the brief sketch of adult education as it developed during the nineteenth century contained in Volume I. Indeed, the two would have been printed as one, but for obvious considerations of length. They were not separate pieces of work.

Why and how the whole book came to be written has already been explained in the Preface, where also are indicated the vicissitudes through which it has passed since it was begun, more than five years ago. While I do not suggest that these pages have so much in common with those of a novel that the reader will instinctively turn to the last chapter first, I would venture to say that Chapter VII.—"Ad Unum Omnes"—does afford the key to all the rest.

I gladly take this opportunity of recording my great indebtedness to the Trustees of the Thomas Wall Trust, whose encouragement and assistance have made possible the publication of Volume II.

B. A. Y.

London, *December*, 1924.

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PART I

THE FORCES AT WORK

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I

THE CURRENT SITUATION

During the first fifteen years of the new century there were signs that adult education was coming into its kingdom, at any rate among working people. "Working Men's Clubs," says Mr. Arthur Greenwood, "accounted in 1914 for over 1,500 out of the 2,500 organisations affiliated to the Workers' Educational Association." [1] Then came the world War, and for a brief time it seemed as though everything must give way to the making of guns and the destruction of men. But the amazing fact, surely unique in history, is that adult education went on, and won its own victories in armed camps, while since the Armistice of 1918 there has been an unequalled development in the demand for adult education and in the range and variety of endeavour to provide it.

It was during the most critical years of the War that the Ministry of Reconstruction took over, as one of its first departmental activities, the Committee on Adult Education previously appointed by the Prime Minister. This Committee, which sat from 1917 till 1919, under the chairmanship of the Master of Balliol, actually outlasted the Ministry, and presented its fourth and final Report direct to the Prime Minister again. Those Reports received general approbation, and it is perhaps only now that the extent to which they were read, and the degree in which they have been incorporated in the programme of official and voluntary bodies concerned with adult education, have become evident. They were deliberately meant to outline a policy and a programme which it would take ten years of continuous

[1] "Labour and Adult Education," in *Cambridge Essays on Adult Education* (1920), p. 123.

effort to accomplish. There is no doubt that the creation of the Committee was due as much to pressure from existing voluntary adult education movements as to the insight of the Minister who was responsible for it.

Equally striking is the story of how the Education Act of 1918 was conceived at a time when the nation was fighting for its life, passed after a great campaign against apathy and materialism, and welcomed by working people as an earnest of the equality of opportunity which they claim as a matter of mere justice. The Act, again, made proposals which it would require ten years to put into operation. It is no secret that the President of the Board of Education would fain have put more provisions regarding adult education into his Bill had it not been for the necessity of making haste slowly, and not jeopardising improvements in elementary and secondary education, which would in themselves prepare the way for more adequate adult education, by asking everything at once. At the same time the Act boldly sketches a scheme for a complete national system of education, and confers upon Local Education Authorities powers which enable them, if they desire, to meet every kind of demand for the education of adults. Though in certain respects the Act has become for the time being a dead letter, it remains upon the Statute Book, and (a matter of much greater importance) it has come to be for great numbers of English people a minimum standard of what our educational system must sooner or later become. The appointment by the President, in 1921, of a Standing Committee to advise the Board on matters connected with "the liberal education of adults" is evidence that at last Adult Education has become recognised as an integral part of the responsibility of the State, in co-operation with voluntary organisations, the Universities, and the Local Education Authorities.[1] This again is a landmark which cannot be removed.[2]

[1] Mr. H. A. L. Fisher is, of course, a Liberal in politics. It is all the more significant that at the conclusion of the term of office for which his Adult Education Committee was appointed, his successor

Meantime, the progress of the actual work carried on through the three channels to which reference has just been made becomes more heartening every year. The statistics of membership in all sorts of classes and societies for educational purposes show that belief in the strength of adult education as a permanent and powerful factor in the life of the nation need not be based simply upon the attitude of cabinet ministers, the appointment of government committees, the publication of elaborate reports, or the passing of Acts of Parliament. Though it may be true that a great number, perhaps even the majority, of English people still remain unconverted to this particular gospel, it is undeniable that there is a great and growing company of enthusiastic apostles who speak from a rich experience of its glories. There is no need to bolster up any doctrinaire argument in favour of adult education by vague and unverifiable general statements. There is ample proof that the demand is strong and deep and persistent. Abundant evidence is available for the assertion that it proceeds from those who really have in their hands the destinies of this country. What is so significant to any thoughtful observer is that through all the shock of war and the disillusionments of peace this steady purpose should thus go from strength to strength in the changing life of our people.

Though our present enquiry deals only with the situation

as President, the Hon. Edward Wood, a Conservative, reappointed it for a further period of two years from August 1923, and that again Mr. C. P. Trevelyan, President of the Board in the first Labour Government in England, not only retained it but at once assured it of his desire to promote the further progress of adult education in every possible way. It is also significant to observe the subjects of the Reports issued by the Committee between 1921 and 1924 in their order: Local Co-operation; Recruitment, Training and Remuneration of Tutors; Development of Adult Education in Rural Areas; Development of Adult Education for Women; British Music. A Sub-Committee now has under consideration the subject of Drama in Adult Education.

[2] To these must now be added the Board of Education (Adult Education) Regulations, 1924, to which reference is made later in this volume.

in England, it will help us to preserve the necessary perspective if we remind ourselves that the experience of our own country since 1914 is not unique. It is typical of a movement which is at work all over Europe, and, indeed, throughout the world. Similar phenomena may be observed, for example, in Germany, where the *Volkshochschulen* have taken so firm a hold of popular imagination since the War. In other European countries such as Austria and Czecho-Slovakia there has been a notable expansion of adult education during the last four years. Holland and France show similar developments through their " People's Universities " and Settlements, a particularly remarkable feature in the efforts to restore the devastated areas in France being the establishment therein of nearly a hundred Settlements, most of which have a considerable element of adult education in their programmes.[1] In the Scandinavian countries much greater relative progress had been made a generation ago. Indeed, the Danish People's High Schools were in many respects the model for many more recent movements in Central Europe. The position in Denmark and Sweden at the present time is perhaps the normal outcome of earlier activities in this field. But even there a fresh impetus has been felt since the cessation of hostilities throughout neighbouring countries in 1918.[2]

In England and Germany the circumstances and effects of the War itself certainly appear to have exerted a direct and favourable influence upon the desire of the democracy for a fuller mental and spiritual life. In both the British (including Dominion) and the German armies, during the years of fighting, classes, lectures, libraries and other means of general education were organised, at first by voluntary bodies

[1] *Vide Settlements and their Outlook, passim.*

[2] For particulars see the series of *Bulletins*, each containing a report upon the situation in one country, issued by the World Association for Adult Education since July 1919. Among other developments in Denmark, the establishment and rapid progress of the International People's College at Elsinore is notable, especially as it is founded upon a definitely Christian basis, and has triumphed remarkably over the opposition caused by this.

and afterwards by the military authorities. The experience of those responsible for these schemes, and of those who shared in the work of teaching, leaves no room for doubt as to the genuineness of the welcome given by a considerable majority of soldiers to these facilities, and the testimony of the American leaders is the same with regard to the United States troops. Men had a certain amount of leisure, and were eager for distraction from the routine or the repulsiveness of much of their duty. But the reasons for this responsiveness were by no means entirely negative. The bare fact that they travelled to other lands, and mingled not only with all classes of their own countrymen but with men of other races, traditions and religions, meant for British soldiers the opening up of a new world of knowledge and of human relationships. There was also among them a reaction from the old order of society which had issued in such a world calamity as the War. The desire for social, economic and political reconstruction set them thinking. They resolved that their children, at least, should have a chance of building differently; it was remarked that people who took part in the campaign on behalf of the Education Bill of 1918 had no keener followers of their explanations and recruits for their cause than they found among the soldiers right up the line in France. Men and women occupied on war-work at home were in like manner stirred to read and talk about the greater things in human life as never before, although their leisure was less, and the range of their war-time experience narrower, than that of men and women who served overseas. Amidst all the materialism and barbarism of war the spirit of idealism was manifest. The quest of enduring values became the more widespread and eager amidst the overthrow of old conventions and the destruction of so much that previously had seemed the chief satisfactions of life.

When the fighting was over people began at once to discuss not only practical proposals relating to a new order of things, but also the principles underlying all such projects. They found a fresh interest in History, and began to ask that it

should be taught with greater fairness to *all* the facts. Economics and the Science of Politics exerted a new fascination ; the practical importance of a clear and sound theory in such matters became obvious. Naturally Literature and Modern Languages were more widely taken up than formerly. Psychology, which was a very favourite subject during the War, became, for various reasons, still more popular afterwards. Metaphysics and Ethics, too, were discovered to be more than an abstract hobby of academic philosophers. There has also been more widespread thought about Religion.

In Germany all this has been greatly furthered by the Revolution of 1918, and by the general policy of the Republic which was then set up. It has been realised by people of all classes that education is the only key to real reconstruction, as it is also the only safeguard against the dangers that beset a democracy newly liberated from the thraldom of hitherto unquestioned authority. There is a great desire manifest in Germany to recapture the ideals of the national poets and philosophers, artists and musicians who flourished before the days of the Hohenzollern Empire. As Dr. Rathenau has expressed it : " The soul of the German people lies still in the convulsions and hallucinations of its slow recovery. It is recovery not alone from the War but from something worse—its hundred years' alienation from itself. . . . We must reunite ourselves with the days before we ceased to be Germans and became Berliners." [1] He goes on to say that though the word " culture " has been " soiled with all ignoble use," until to utter it to-day is to run the risk of almost certainly being misunderstood, it is what this word once represented that Germany must seek again. " A hundred years ago, as the word implies, we understood by culture the unfolding and the full possession of innate bodily, spiritual and moral forces. In this sense Goethe showed us the two fraternal figures formed after his own image ; Faust the richer, and the poorer Wilhelm Meister, striving for culture. . . . The conception of Culture as our true and unique faculty must be so profoundly grasped that in public

[1] *The New Society* (English edn. 1921), p. 99.

life and legislation it must have the first word and the last. Though we become as poor as church mice, we must stake our last penny on this, and tune up our education and instruction, our models and outlook, our motives and claims, our achievement and our atmosphere, to so high a point that anyone coming into Germany shall feel that he is entering into a new age." [1] This is an eloquent phrasing of what the visitor to Germany will hear from working people everywhere, as he will see evidence of the sincerity with which they speak in the sacrifices they are making to obtain this kind of education for themselves as well as for their children. They have broken with the old *régime*. They want to make sure that it will not come back again. For this they trust in an educational movement which, as they constantly and almost passionately insist, is a spiritual movement.[2]

In England there has been no revolution to sharpen the

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 102, 104.

[2] The persistence of this through all the misery and the general debacle of 1922-23 is shown in the survey of activities contained in the World Association *Bulletin* for August 1923 (*Newer Adult Education in Germany*). Dr. Werner Picht, one of the officers of the Adult Education Department of the Prussian *Kultusministerium* in Berlin, analyses the new movement in his article on "The New Adult Education Movement in Germany" in *The Contemporary Review* for February 1924. He shows that the attitude of the working-classes in Germany towards education has become critical, in the sense that they not only reject the false "culture" passed on to them by the universities and the middle classes during the last half of the nineteenth century, but perceive that even the true culture of an earlier period is not in itself adequate for to-day. "Nor is this," he says, "essentially a political process, but rather the actual experiencing, more consciously there than elsewhere, of the crisis in European civilisation and society. . . . So adult education work leads to a critical survey of the substance of culture itself. It finds itself in pronounced opposition to the modern attitude of mind. It is no longer tempted to enquire into all that is interesting, all that is clever, all that is sensational, but to judge things according to their intrinsic worth for the man of to-day. Thus, after the chaos created by a superfluity of wealth of material, we are striving for order in the realm of spirit, a simplifying of spiritual life through a return to what is essential."

issue. But there has been, and is, in progress a profound change in the thinking of the mass of the people. Here also there is the determination never to go back to "old, unhappy, far-off things." With clearer perception of what is fundamentally wrong in the realms of economics, politics, and industry, the leaders of organised Labour have come to a deeper conviction that education, and in particular adult education, is essential before these evils can be remedied.[1] They know that they can neither stir enthusiasm for true reform among their followers, nor rely upon loyalty and discipline when they take the right means of securing such reform, unless knowledge, judgment and generosity of feeling are widespread among those in whose interests they strive. "We must have intelligent leadership. . . . But it is the rank and file who appoint men from among themselves to responsible positions; and an intelligent rank and file is, therefore, *the only guarantee for an intelligent leadership.*" [2]

Employers are coming to understand that it is bad business, because it is bad psychology and bad administrative method, to treat men and women as mere tools. They see that the best results can be obtained only by the development of a genuine spirit of co-operation among all concerned in the production and distribution of a given commodity, and that this cannot be expected of ignorant and unimaginative work-people. It is being brought home to them that if the work of the community is to be done on this new basis

[1] Cf. "The arts and the sciences bring enlargement of mind only to the few. The masses, starved of education and stinted in leisure, cannot grow to the full stature of their kind. And so it is that Labour, scientist and artist and teacher, miner and builder and ploughman, strives amid the daily battle over hours and wages and doles, towards the fundamental change that will free us from the mentality of class strife and national strife. It must come by persuasion and education. If violence could give us the keys of power, it would not enable us to wield them." *The New Leader*, October 27, 1922. (An article written in view of an impending General Election.)

[2] *Our Next Step—Education*, Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, p. 10.

they themselves need that education which is "a life-long process." [1] There must be a common basis of knowledge and of culture if men are to work together in harmony for an end mutually agreed upon. So, while the movement in Germany may be more dramatic, and at the moment more a conscious concern of the whole community, there is reason to believe that in England there are the seeds of a not dissimilar newness of life through a true conception and an adequate development of adult education.

The motives to be discerned in any form of adult education are of greater importance than the details of organisation, and even, indeed, than numbers. We have already glanced at two types of people in the community, the "workers" and the "capitalists," in this connection, and have found reason to maintain that in neither case is the predominant motive an unworthy one. There are always a few extremist and propagandist groups who will exploit every new move-

[1] Cf. B. Seebohm Rowntree in *Settlements and Their Outlook*, p. 77. Cf. also Sir Edward Manville, joint chairman of the National Alliance of Employers and Employed, in a speech at Reading: "In his opinion it was becoming more and more realised at the present time that the disparity of education between employers and employees was a factor conducive to industrial unrest. Suspicion was aroused in many circumstances simply on account of the fact that a large body of workers were unable to appreciate the economic conditions which underlay and governed our commercial system. A worker had every right to aspire towards bettering his position just as much as an administrator in industry. But the worker had grown to realise that this increase of status was founded not only upon an economic basis of life, but upon a cultural one—hence his demand for education. This demand was more pronounced to-day than it had ever been, and circumstances indicated that it would continue to increase. Such a state of affairs required that provision must be made to meet this demand, and lack of such provision could only result in a serious and unnecessary catastrophe." *Times Educational Supplement*, March 8, 1924. Sir Edward proceeded to describe the arrangement under which, in 1923, 77 classes had been at work in 34 industrial and agricultural centres. These were under the control of joint committees of employers and employed, and under the direction of universities. Selected men were given further opportunities of study for matriculation, and one or two were now being given facilities for degree-courses. Cf. *Unity*, March, 1925.

ment, if they can, for their own purpose, and neither Trade Unions nor Employers' Federations are free from such. But even the endeavours of the revolutionaries among the former, if examined closely, will reveal a considerable element of idealism, however this may be obscured or misdirected by a twisted mentality or a narrow purpose. The same may be said of the reactionaries among the men in "big business" and their attitude towards adult education. Neither obsession by the thought of self-determination on the one side nor devotion to the claims of "output" on the other is the ultimate spring of enthusiasm. After all, it is the students themselves who count for most in the long run. The considered judgment of the Reconstruction Committee on Adult Education was that the conception of education prevalent among adult students "regards it as designed primarily to contribute to good citizenship by preparing men for the exercise of public spirit in their social relations." [1]

[1] *Final Report*, 1919, § 99, p. 57. Cf. also §§ 92, 96. "The primary motive of the students who take part in the educational movements described above is normally an interest in some department of knowledge for its own sake, or for the contribution which it may make to mental development and wise conduct, not for the sake of training for, or advancement in, a trade or profession. . . . It is not only, as we have already stated, principally concerned with humane or liberal education. It is also the expression of the belief that a wider diffusion of knowledge will be a power working for the progress of society, and the ideal which it places before its students and members is less individual success or even personal culture than personal culture as a means to social improvement. This is not equally true of all parts of the movement or of all concerned in it. Nor must it be taken to imply that the intellectual candour and detachment which are the conditions of genuine study are sacrificed to dogmatic teaching which confirms prejudices instead of removing them, though that fault, no doubt, is occasionally found in certain types of adult education, as in other departments of educational activity. What it means is that emphasis is laid upon social service rather than upon individual self-advancement, and that students both tend, and are encouraged, rather to consider the aid which education may offer to raising the general level of society, than to seek through education opportunities of securing higher payment or greater comfort, or even a wider culture, for themselves."

When we speak of motive we touch upon one of the profoundest problems in psychology. The process of motivation is by no means so clearly understood as our frequent use in ordinary conversation of the terms connected with it assume. It is well that we should keep this fact very distinctly in mind when we are trying to follow contemporary developments in adult education. But even while admitting the limitations within which we must needs work in this matter of aim and motive, it is necessary that we should discriminate, at least for the sake of avoiding confusion, between aim on the one hand and motive (regarding purpose as practically a more fully developed and consciously entertained motive) on the other. Whether these are really separable in the activity of the unified personality or not is a question for the psychologists. What we have in view here is the fact that in practice there can be no education which does not involve the interaction of at least two personalities—those of the teacher and the student respectively. It therefore becomes desirable to use the word aim when we are referring to the educator or the organiser of education, and motive or purpose when we are referring to the pupil or student. This is especially so in connection with adult education. The aim of those who provide facilities or who act as teachers may prove in many respects far from identical with the motive of those who avail themselves of the facilities or the purpose with which they take what the teacher has to give. Certainly there must be a measure of accordance, or the two could never be brought together. Co-operation in some degree or other is indispensable, but the people concerned may nevertheless have differing conceptions of the *raison d'être*, not only of education in general, but of their occupation with some particular subject of study and even of the method adopted in pursuing it.

Quite apart, then, from the obvious difficulty of analysing motives (even one's own !) and of defining aims, it is more satisfactory to take values as a criterion when we are discussing adult education as it exists to-day, and seeking to

understand the attitude of typical groups of people towards it. We are less likely to fall into grave errors of judgment if we ask what men and women, tutors and students alike, actually find through education than why they seek it. If they tell us about their ideals and activities in terms of aim and motive, or purpose, it is best for us to translate what they say into terms of value if we can. Nor is this misleading. For the perception and the acceptance of values is essential to the exercise of motive and purpose or the pursuit of an aim. And, as we have already seen, the personal values with which adult education is concerned are also for the most part social values.[1] The more fundamental they are, the more nearly universal are they found to be. The great question then remaining is whether they are spiritual values, and that is the question which lies at the root of our present enquiry.

As we have looked at the earlier growth of adult education in the light of this conception,[2] so now we must examine recent and contemporary developments in a similar way. Amidst the multiplication of effort and the increase of enthusiasm during this first quarter of the twentieth century and especially during the last ten years, has the emphasis on spiritual values been intensified or weakened ? To what extent has our interpretation of the conception itself been broadened and enriched, or otherwise ? How far does the common possession of such an outlook in adult education make possible now a co-operation between diverse organisations that was not attained before the War, or indeed throughout the preceding century ?

We turn, therefore, to the aims and activities of the outstanding groups in the adult educational movement, to typical leaders in the political, social, and industrial spheres so far as these concern themselves with adult education, to representative utterances made on behalf of the organised Christian community. It is unnecessary to go into so much detail regarding either the general background against which

[1] Cf. quotations from Reconstruction Committee on Adult Education, p. 12 *supra*.

[2] Cf. Vol. I. ch. VII.

the movement must be set or the forms in which it finds expression as we were obliged to do in the case of the nineteenth century. The facts are more or less familiar to most people, and if they are not they are easily ascertainable from a variety of books, reports, pamphlets, and periodicals, as well as from actual observation. Furthermore, the volume of the available material for the formation of a sound judgment on the matter is so great that we must needs restrict ourselves to a selection of illustrative instances such as will suffice to show with fairness what the situation really is.

The whole tendency of organised Labour is to demand adequate opportunity for everyone who will to acquire both knowledge and culture. When a reduction in the size of classes in elementary schools, " secondary education for all," a great increase in the number of scholarships and maintenance allowances at the universities, are set forth as essential to a satisfactory educational programme, the purpose in view is to provide training not only for livelihood, but for a way of life. The continuous quest of education by the adult is equally essential to the ideals respecting personality and society which are implied. And in this pursuit adult students have learned to claim the finest aid obtainable, that of the university itself. Dr. Hook, in a famous lecture delivered nearly three-quarters of a century ago on " Institutes for Adult Education," said, " We demand for the working classes the best article." [1] Oxford and Cambridge were at that time still unreformed, and the new universities in Manchester and London were only beginning to take effective shape. It was the desire for the best that created so enthusiastic a response on the part of working people, particularly in the North, to the early efforts of the University Extension Movement.[2] But the foundation of the Workers' Educational Association in 1903 was the first real alliance, on equal terms, between the forces of demand

[1] James Hole, *Literary, Scientific, and Mechanics' Institutions*, p. 61.

[2] Cf. R. D. Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension*, cc. 2-4, pp. 12-52.

and supply in adult education at its highest level. The establishment of university tutorial classes, organised by voluntary bodies, taught by tutors appointed by joint committees representative of those bodies and the universities and responsible to the universities for the standard of work done, and financed to the extent of two-thirds of the tutor's salary by the Board of Education (the University and the Local Education Authority contributing the greater part of the remainder), not only lifted adult education to a higher plane altogether, but created a new and powerful impetus throughout the whole movement. These classes will naturally attract only the comparatively exceptional adult student, so long as our system of school-education remains what it is.[1] But these students generally know very definitely what they want, they often become leaders in less highly organised and more informal activities, they frequently attain to very considerable influence in social, industrial, and political life, they are missionaries of adult education who help to create fresh demands of all kinds, and the interest that their own demands have aroused among those able to assist in various ways has led to an expansion of educational effort among adults along other lines. It is thus of first importance to understand the ideals of a movement which, though now one among many others, was indubitably the pioneer of a great advance in adult education and remains one of the most powerful forces in it to-day.

The nature of the demand as reflected in the subjects of study chosen by W.E.A. students has already come under our observation.[2] In the speech of mingled challenge and

[1] In 1922-23 there were 7434 students in 363 three-year classes organised by the W.E.A. and 15,314 in 624 one-year classes. The total number of the W.E.A. branches and student groups was 419, and the total membership 24,360 (*v.* Report for 1922-23, *The Highway*, September 1923). In reply to a question in the House of Commons Mr. Bridgeman stated that the Parliamentary electorate for England and Wales in the spring Register, 1923 (the last for which complete figures are available), numbered: Males 10,449,820; and females 7,831,583 (*v. The Times* for December 16, 1923).

[2] See Vol. I. pp. 162-164, 178.

appeal made by Mr. J. M. Mactavish at the first conference of the W.E.A. with representatives of the University of Oxford, he said : " I claim for my class all the best of all that Oxford has to give. . . . I wish it to be remembered that workpeople could do far more for Oxford than Oxford can do for workpeople. . . . We want Oxford to open wide her doors to the best of our people and take them in. . . . We want her to inspire them, not with the idea of getting on, but with the idea of social service." [1] The main purpose of the Association was to combine the experience gained in ordinary life with the knowledge that the Universities could give, attaining thus to a true wisdom. " The W.E.A.," says Dr. Mansbridge, " did itself naturally represent the fundamental life of working people, who made it abundantly clear that they desired ' a liberal as against a merely bread-and-butter education.' . . . The power of the movement lay in the fact that it inspired its members, and those with whom it came into contact, to give of their highest and best, because to do so was the way of life. As we have seen over and over again, the objects to which knowledge and training were to be applied were never thought about. Education was recognised as a force enabling man to develop to the furthest limit of his powers. All the time the Association was confident that every true cause, particularly that of justice for the labourer, would benefit in proportion to the increase in the number of those who had made themselves into finer and purer men." [2]

[1] A. Mansbridge, *University Tutorial Classes*, pp. 194, 197.

[2] *An Adventure in Working Class Education*, pp. 19, 54. At the Leeds Conference of Tutors in 1922, Mr. J. R. Taylor said : " Some Tutorial Class students are students pure and simple, seeking knowledge for its own sake, others have in view their personal equipment for some occupation, but the majority are there as citizens and workers in some social movement. Their interest is moral, or at least social, and, being adults, nearly all have some outlook on social affairs. My experience is that very many students who ask for ' Economics ' really want ' Social Theory ' or ' Social Philosophy,' but are not clear about the classification of the Social Sciences or the boundaries of Science and Philosophy." In the discussion which

That tradition has been maintained and strengthened in the W.E.A. As the years have passed the movement has been criticised by those who are impatient to see social changes made more rapidly. It has been called academic or bourgeois. But this has only driven deeper the conviction of its members that to depart from its chosen policy would be fatal to the achievement of its purpose. It desires that men should see all sides of truth so that the position they take up for themselves may be firm and enduring. It sets values before parties and causes, believing that only so can lasting progress be achieved. After ten years as President, the Rev. W. Temple wrote in 1918 that the revived interest in education shown at nearly all Labour gatherings was in a measure due to the realisation that education is the way to power, and that true democracy cannot be attained without it, but he gave a further reason: "The more thoughtful minds in the Labour movement have become increasingly convinced that the real root of social problems is spiritual. It is not merely the inequitable distribution of the proceeds of industry against which they protest and rebel; it is still more the low estimate of the worker's personality that goes along with this. . . . And it is by education that the working classes can most effectively assert their true personality." [1]

followed the view generally taken was that "in general, working people approach the study of economics with a distinctly practical object, *e.g.* because they desire to equip themselves to play their part in the trade union or co-operative movements or in local administration, and that those who really make good in a class are those who have some moral or social purpose of this kind." *The Tutors' Bulletin*, Nov. 1922.

[1] *W.E.A. Educational Yearbook*, 1918, Art.: "Leading Facts in the History of the Workers' Educational Association," p. 325. Cf. also: "We shall only obtain the kind of education which gives the fullest human development if we abandon all effort to impose upon the mind of the learner any beliefs—religious, political, economic, historical, or of whatever kind they may be—and desire first and foremost that the learner shall make up his own mind on as complete a presentation of the facts as can be produced. Thus in the sphere of religion it is far better that a man should hold a heresy which he genuinely believes than that he should tamely acquiesce in the

It is largely because of its adhesion to these principles that the W.E.A. has been more than an ordinary association organising its own direct activities in the way of classes, study groups, lecture-courses, and general propaganda in favour of a complete and satisfactory national system of education. It has been able to bring together for counsel and common action a great variety of other bodies interested in adult education. Labour organisations, such as Trade Unions, Trades and Labour Councils, the Co-operative Movement, and the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, have been its main source of support. But centrally and locally it has welcomed the affiliation of University Extension Committees, Adult School Unions, Women's Institutes, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., and Churches—which affiliation has gladly been accepted by the bodies concerned.[1] It thus represents a very comprehensive public opinion on adult education, and exerts a far-reaching influence on the spirit and policy of the movement as a whole. A recent, and transitional, development was by way of closer co-operation with certain Trade Unions in a Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee, founded in 1919 as a result of an approach made by the Iron and Steel Workers' Federation to the W.E.A. By this arrangement the Unions became financially responsible for meeting as far as possible the expressed educational needs of their members, but sought guidance and active assistance of the W.E.A. in

acceptance of an orthodoxy, even on the supposition that the orthodoxy is indeed the truth. The same is true in every other department. . . . This is the spirit which in the W.E.A. we desire to promote, for we believe that just as education is essential to freedom, so is freedom essential to education. There should be no aim beyond the building up into its fulness of the real personality of the student; that personality is both individual and social, and only if both his individuality and his membership of the community are simultaneously fostered by his education is that education worthy of its name" (*ibid.* p. 326). Cf. the articles by Dr. Temple, Dr. Mansbridge, Mr. Mactavish and others in the special "Twenty-first Anniversary" issue of *The Highway*, Summer Quarter, 1924.

[1] The number of affiliated societies in 1922-23 was 2536 (Report, *Highway*, September 1923).

making the necessary educational provision.[1] But at the celebration of its " coming-of-age " at Oxford in the summer of 1924 it was able to announce the satisfactory conclusion of negotiations with the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, as a result of which that body, and trade unions having educational schemes of their own, could be more fully represented on the W.E.A. Central Executive, thus drawing the industrial and the educational organisation of Labour more closely together, and at the same time maintaining the relation of the W.E.A. to the universities and other educational bodies.[2]

Naturally in any democratic and decentralised movement local expression of the general spirit and policy varies. This is true of the W.E.A. At the same time there can be no question that the characteristic W.E.A. approach to adult education accords with those ideals of adult education as a spiritual activity which have been sketched in the first volume of this book. No one would say that the Association has attained all that it seeks. But no one could deny the immense spiritual potentialities of such a movement as it has proved itself to be. It survives and makes progress

[1] The W.E.T.U.C. accepted the broad principle of enabling each co-operating Union to give its members the kind of education for which they asked, whether of the W.E.A. or of the Labour College, or any other non-vocational type. The National Council of Labour Colleges, however, did not approve of the scheme, and very few Labour College students have participated. Cf. *The Highway*, almost every issue for 1919-1924 ; *Plebs*, July 1924, pp. 268-274 ; T. W. Price, *The Story of the W.E.A.*, pp. 83-88 ; J. F. and W. Horrabin, *Working-Class Education*, pp. 58-65 ; *Annual Reports* of the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee, 1922 and 1923 ; *The Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee, its Methods and Constitution*, etc.

[2] " The effect of the proposed changes, if they are carried out, will be to increase the representation of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress upon the W.E.A. Central Executive, and likewise to give special representation on our Central Executive to each Trade Union which works an educational scheme in co-operation with us, contributing its share of the cost of such a scheme." *The Highway*, Autumn, 1924, p. 183.

demonstrably by reason of its emphasis upon spiritual values.

Over against the W.E.A. as expressing the formulated ideals of a large section of the working classes in the matter of adult education stand the National Council of Labour Colleges and the Plebs League, representing the movement for " Independent Working Class Education." They sprang from a critical reaction. Strangely enough, this arose when adult education for working people had reached a stage of advancement never even contemplated in the previous history of the movement—the provision of a residential college or colleges to which students could go for at least a year of uninterrupted study.

In 1899 two wealthy friends of working-class education and admirers of John Ruskin established Ruskin College at Oxford as " a residential institution for adult working-class students—the first of the kind in this country—where a course of education in the social sciences of most value to the growing democratic working-class movement, untrammelled by the conventional outlook of any one school of thought or section or party, could be obtained. This policy of undertaking purely educational, and not propagandist, work has been maintained to the present day." [1] It was not easy for the College and the University, between which there was no official relationship, to discover their natural points of contact. The newness of the situation, and the sometimes aggressive emphasis of Ruskin students upon what they considered the class-bias of Oxford and the rightness of their

[1] Art. on the College by Sam Smith, Secretary, in the *W.E.A. Educational Yearbook*, 1918, p. 388. " The aim of the College is to provide a thoroughly broad education in economics, history, local government, co-operation, and Trade Unionism ; English literature and French and German are also studied. During the 18 years of its existence some 500 working men have undertaken residential courses, many of whom are now active officials of Trade Unions, Trades Councils, Working Men's Clubs, and Co-operative Societies, or taking part in local government as members of County or Town Councils. During the past few years the scheme of studies has been co-ordinated and much improved " (*ibid.*).

own attitude towards economic and other studies, produced a certain awkwardness on both sides, and even after twenty-five years it sometimes still appears that the two have not yet fully realised their mutual value. At least Ruskin has never allowed itself to be dominated by Oxford; it has always been distinctly nonconformist, socially and economically. In its domestic affairs the demand for full working-class control of the College was made evident from the first, and in course of time the Council was composed of representatives elected by Trade Unions and similar working-class associations providing scholarships and by certain nationally organised working-class bodies. To enter fully into the history and work of Ruskin College would be disproportionate to our necessarily limited treatment of the adult education movement in general. But upon the great importance of such residential colleges, and upon their relative power of influencing working-class thought and action, there is no need to dwell. Ruskin College has been a perpetual challenge to those who believe in adult education, a standing appeal for the provision of more opportunity for those who eagerly desire the intellectual training and inspiration that only such a year of freedom and concentration can give. At present the colleges for adults are far too few. We shall consider those which now exist as we come to the various sections of the adult education movement with which they are respectively most closely associated.[1]

Like all pioneers, the members and supporters of Ruskin College found themselves passing, from time to time, through critical and exciting situations. Sharply opposed views regarding the aim and function of such an institution were espoused by various groups. Finally the party of the extreme Left demanded what amounted to a revolution in the methods and curriculum of the College. In 1908 the Plebs League was formed by students and ex-students "to bring about a definite and more satisfactory connection

[1] For Fircroft, cf. pp. 394 ff. *infra*; the Residential College for Working Women at Beckenham, pp. 399 ff. *infra*; and the Catholic Workers' College at Oxford, pp. 277 ff. *infra*.

between Ruskin and the Labour Movement." A little later occurred a strike on the part of the students who would tolerate no compromise on the matter.[1] This led to the foundation of the Central Labour College (now the Labour College, London), a residential centre of training "owned and controlled" by the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants and the South Wales Miners' Federation, both of which continued, on the other hand, their support of Ruskin and the W.E.A. as well. The movement grew rapidly during and after the War (which "came shattering many myths and stirring up many sleepy minds"), and non-residential Labour Colleges were established in many English industrial centres. These are organisations for conducting evening classes, lectures, week-end schools, and so forth, and the Labour College, London, which provides a residential course of study lasting for two years, "can be regarded as a staff College for the training of teachers for the regional colleges, as well as for equipping men and women with the knowledge necessary for Trade Union and Labour Party functions." The necessity of linking the local organisations together soon became apparent. "In 1921 the Labour Colleges formed a National Council of Labour Colleges, and shortly afterwards the Amalgamated Union of Building Trades Workers and the National Union of Distributive Workers placed their educational schemes in the hands of the Council." [2]

[1] An account of this is now available in Mr. and Mrs. Horrabin's *Working-Class Education*, pp. 43-47, where a parallel is drawn with events in the early history of Birkbeck College (cf. Vol. I. p. 240), and the issue is stated as revolt against the aim of Ruskin College—"the giving of working men a sound practical knowledge of subjects which concern them as citizens, thus enabling them to view questions *sanely* and *without unworthy class bias*"—and a demand "not only for working-class-controlled education, but for an education of a different *kind* to that 'imposed from "above."'"

[2] In 1923 the N.C.L.C. organised 529 classes with 11,993 students (84 of the classes and 3005 of the students being those of the Scottish Labour Colleges), and a very considerable increase has since taken place (*e.g.* the Scottish classes in 1924 numbered more than 120). The 75 non-residential Labour Colleges in England and Scotland are

The Plebs League of to-day consists of students, ex-students, and friends of the Labour Colleges, of which it is the publishing and propagandist agency, and its object is "to further the interests of independent working-class education as a partisan effort to improve the position of Labour in the present, and to assist ultimately in the abolition of wage slavery." [1]

grouped into 11 districts, each with a whole-time lecturer who is also, in every case but one, the district organiser. "The control of the N.C.L.C. is wholly in the hands of working-class organisations, such as trade unions, trade union branches, working-class political organisations, trades councils, etc. . . . As the purpose of the Labour Colleges is to help the workers in their industrial, political, and co-operative struggles, the subjects taught are chosen with that end in view. They include Economics, Industrial History, History of Trade Unionism, History of the Modern Working Class Movement, Trade Union Law, Co-operation, Sociology, Economic Geography, Imperialism, Psychology, Science of Reasoning, English, Public Speaking, and Chairmanship." The main subjects of study at the Labour College, London, are given as :—*The Method of Social Science* : Problem of Knowledge, History of Philosophy, Historical Method ; *History* : History of Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern Society (technical, economic, political, legal, ethical, aesthetic, and religious) ; *Economics* : Elementary and Advanced ; *Ethnology* : Primitive Technique, Marriage and the Family and Social Life generally ; *Economic Geography* ; *Capital Accumulation and Imperialism* ; *Modern Working Class Movement* : Trade Unions—History and Practice ; Political Parties ; Education ; The International, Industrial, Political and Educational Movements ; *Co-operative Movement* : History and Practice ; *Municipal Government and Problems* ; *Psychology* ; *Literature* ; *Mathematics* ; *English Grammar* ; *French* ; *German* ; *Esperanto* ; *Public Speaking*. Cf. *The National Council of Labour Colleges, History, Report, and Directory*, 1924 ; and J. F. and W. Horrabin, *op. cit.* pp. 49-53.

[1] J. F. Horrabin, article on the Plebs League in *W.E.A. Educational Yearbook*, 1918, p. 390. See also the first annual Report of the N.C.L.C., issued in 1924 under the title *The National Council of Labour Colleges, History, Report and Directory*, the *Prospectus* of the Labour College, the monthly journal *Plebs*, textbooks issued by the League, etc. A newly-drafted Constitution for the Plebs League, accepted at the annual "Meet" of the League in 1924, is as follows : "The general aim of the Plebs League is to develop and increase the class-consciousness of the workers, by propaganda and education, in

The position taken by the National Council of Labour Colleges and the Plebs League is admittedly and intentionally a provocative one. This creates for many people a difficulty in the way of understanding and appreciating either what this increasing body of thoroughly enthusiastic men and women is setting out to do or what it is actually accomplishing. It trains its own tutors, writes its own textbooks, and insists unwaveringly upon an isolation which is, in fact, one great secret of its power over a certain section of the working classes. "The League," says Mr. J. F. Horrabin, "takes its stand on the fact of the class-struggle; it asserts that the Labour Movement has its basis in the antagonism of interests existing between Capital and Labour —this being the central, fundamental factor of present-day society. It accordingly insists that the education with which the Labour Movement is concerned must be based upon a recognition of this antagonism. It urges that this antagonism of economic interests is inevitably translated into an antagonism of ideas—most apparent in those very studies, roughly to be described as the 'social sciences,' in which Labour is primarily interested. It believes that 'impartiality' in such subjects is impossible—that the mere attempt to realise it betokens a failure to grasp the root facts of social development; and, further, that even were it attainable, it is obviously not the concern of the working-

order to aid them to destroy wage-slavery and to win power. The means it uses for this end are (1) the support of the National Council of Labour Colleges and the classes run under its auspices; (2) the maintenance of the class-conscious character of the teaching in the present organs and institutions of Independent Working-Class Education; (3) the publication of a magazine and, in concert with the N.C.L.C., of textbooks, syllabuses, and other publications; (4) the holding of summer schools, teachers' conferences, etc.; (5) propaganda among workers' organisations for the adoption of new schemes of I.W.C.E. or the extension of existing schemes. The League, although not, until otherwise decided, running candidates for public or trade union offices, is intended to link together members of the Labour movement for the discussion and advancement of a revolutionary industrial and political movement suited to British conditions." *Plebs*, April 1924, p. 102; July 1924, pp. 276-8.

class movement. Education, in the view of the Plebs League, is necessarily *propaganda*; the only question for the working class being, What kind of propaganda? Propaganda based upon the ideas of the ruling-class, taught in the universities which express its class outlook upon society; or propaganda based upon the point of view of the working-class and designed to equip the workers for their struggle against capitalism and capitalistic ideology? (That ideology, the Plebs League asserts, is not only apparent in the 'social sciences'—economics, industrial and political history, etc.—it also finds expression, inevitably, in literature and philosophy; and the League, accordingly, does not advocate an education devoted exclusively to the subjects first mentioned.)" [1]

[1] *W.E.A. Educational Yearbook*, 1918, *loc. cit.* With this should be compared the statements in footnote to pp. 24-25 *supra*. "Membership of the League is open to all who subscribe to its main test—'Education as a means towards the abolition of capitalism.' There is no sort of 'party' bar—or qualification; many members of the I.L.P. are keen Plebs. Nor is any sort of rigid uniformity as regards political or theoretical opinions insisted on (apart, that is, from the broad principle of working class independence); the League includes workers who differ considerably as to immediate tactics, though they are united in general aims." *Plebs*, March 1924, p. 93. At the Plebs "Meet" in 1924 leading members expressed the hope that "under no circumstances would the Plebs League become anything like a political party" and the desire "to organise the Plebs League with the express aim of preventing any section—communist or other—from gaining control of the Labour College movement." This was when the new constitution (*vide* p. 24 *supra*) was adopted. This position was re-emphasised by Mr. Horrabin at the international conference on Workers' Education held at Oxford. Cf. *The Times*, August 16 and 18, 1924. It is fully set out by Mr. and Mrs. Horrabin in their chapter on "Aims and Methods" in *Working-Class Education*, pp. 71-88: *e.g.* "Working-class education must aim at making *conscious* that social ideal which, though implicit in every form of independent working-class organisation, is still but dimly realised by millions of workers. In plain language, working-class education must aim at the ending of Capitalism and the building of a new social order. . . . What the 'extensionists' [*i.e.* those of the W.E.A. type]—or at any rate the quite sincere and philanthropically minded among them—do not realise is that ordinary education to-day, elementary or

Faced by such a statement, those who do not agree with it are apt to dismiss the whole movement of which it speaks as class-conscious, Marxist propaganda, and to deny that it is either educational or spiritual in any true sense. This, however, is merely to react in the opposite direction and to be both undiscriminating and unjust. Here, if anywhere, we must bring our distinction between aims and motives, our preference of values as a criterion, into play. The volume from which these quotations are taken contains an article by Mr. Bernard Shaw, who points out that the only education worth having is controversial; it draws the attention of the student to facts and theories which, if his personality is to be quickened and enriched at all, he must test for himself; he will probably find the facts incomplete, the conclusions unsatisfactory; but he will be stimulated in his search for truth.[1] Mr. Clutton-Brock, in another article, reminds us that: "Behind all educational theory there must be a social theory. We must know what we wish society to be before we can know what we wish education to be; and all ideas about education are based on ideas about society, even where no social theory is consciously expressed."[2] He proceeds to discuss two contrasted views of society—on the one hand that which takes society to be a machine for the accomplishment of more or less material ends, and on the other hand that which regards it as a vast number of human beings engaged in the common effort to

'higher,' is definitely propaganda for the existing order. Propaganda does not consist simply of the dogmatic assertion of certain conclusions. It is much more effective when it relies on the quiet taking for granted of certain assumptions. And the fundamental assumption of all education which does not consciously challenge the existing order of society is that the existing order is, on the whole, desirable and likely to be permanent" (pp. 72-73).

[1] *W.E.A. Educational Yearbook*, 1918, pp. 24-25. Referring to the difficulty of asking for grants of public money for instruction in controversial subjects, as a familiar form in which the problem arises, Mr. Shaw remarks that "no difficulty is ever made provided only one side is taken in the controversy; provided, that is, that the controversial question is falsely taught as a closed question."

[2] *Ibid.* p. 33.

attain the highest possible quality of life. The latter ideal, as he maintains, involves a humanistic education of which it is the essence " not merely that it shall not be vocational—in some cases it might be vocational—but that what is learned shall be learned for the love of the subject, or at least as a means of arousing that love in the learner. In humanistic education all thought of the struggle for life is banished, and humanistic education seems desirable only to those who believe that the universe is so happily constituted that an individual, and a society, can be fitted for the struggle of life by an education which ignores it. It is based, therefore, on a certain faith, a faith contrary to the belief that society is a machine constructed for success in some form of the struggle of life. According to that faith a society so constructed will not in the long run win the success it aims at. He that would save his life shall lose it. Rather the proper aim of society is to sacrifice no one individual, either to other individuals or to a general efficiency, and that aim is not accomplished until there is no such sacrifice of any one of its members." [1]

The Plebs criticism of the W.E.A. point of view is not a mere passage of arms between the leaders of rival organisations. It expresses a very strong trend of opinion prevalent among many thousands of intelligent men and women.[2]

[1] *W.E.A. Educational Yearbook*, 1918, p. 34. For a full development of the underlying " philosophy of the Spirit," and its application to education in the training of the moral, intellectual, and aesthetic powers and activities, *vide* A. Clutton-Brock, *The Ultimate Belief* (1918) *passim*.

[2] " The W.E.A. stands for *extension* of ordinary education (*i.e. ruling-class* education) to workers ; the Labour Colleges stand for the development of specifically *working-class* education, with *working-class aims*, and under *working-class control*. The W.E.A. stands for co-operation between the workers' own organisations and the educational institutions owned and controlled by the master-class ; it wants the workers to have *more* of the kind of education provided by such institutions. The slogan of the Labour Colleges is ' Not more, but *different* ' ; and they assert that the workers will never get the education they need from the class against whom they are organised politically and industrially." *Plebs*, September 1924, p. 330. See also article, " Mr. Cole's Middle Way," *Plebs*, March 1924.

We are, therefore, all the more constrained to ask wherein its power of appeal really lies, and what the outcome of its activities actually is.

We shall, of course, agree with Mr. Shaw that education involves controversy, especially when it is adult education. We can do no other than follow Mr. Clutton-Brock in his advocacy of humanistic education, realising, as he does, that such education is more calculated than any other to create unrest and dissatisfaction with society as it is, though the humanist in education is not primarily concerned with its effects upon the social structure, but only with its creation of a spirit in the individual and in society which is in accordance with ultimate reality. The supreme mistake is to confuse education as necessarily controversial with education as propaganda, and to mistake means such as those indicated by Mr. Horrabin with ends such as those defined by Mr. Clutton-Brock. The real issue has been quite clearly stated by Mr. G. D. H. Cole, who has active sympathies with both the W.E.A. and the N.C.L.C. Education in the usual sense is one thing and training for propaganda another ; both, he says, are legitimate ; but precedence belongs to education. "First educate and then train for propaganda ; or, if the two must go on at the same time, make education in all cases the basis for propaganda. Let a man try to understand all points of view before he begins trying to refute any of them." [1] To the present writer, at least, it seems clear

[1] With this it is interesting to compare the statement of policy issued by the I.L.P. under the title "How a Socialist Government would deal with Education" (quoted at length in the *Times Educational Supplement*, Oct. 13, 1923) : "The true aim of education should not be to mould opinion ; to turn out good workmen, good soldiers, or even good socialists. Education is not propaganda—it is the development of the mind. Any system which imposes upon the child theories of industrial discipline, political or theological dogmas, or seeks to turn education into economically convenient channels, is wrong." The quotation from Mr. Cole is taken from his article on Trade Unionism and Education, *W.E.A. Educational Yearbook*, 1918, p. 372. It is answered by Mr. and Mrs. Horrabin in *Working-Class Education*, pp. 67-68 : they ingenuously defend their position on the ground that their movement's distrust of "a bourgeois

that Mr. Shaw's admirable doctrine, like that of Mr. Clutton-Brock, applies when, and only when, the student has really been encouraged to test for himself the theories presented to him, *by being introduced fairly to both sides of the question*, and when his ideas about society represent a faith to which he has attained, not a dogma which he has absorbed.

It is no part of our present purpose to enter into the controversy represented by the W.E.A. on the one hand and the Plebs League on the other. It would be futile to attempt a harmonisation of the two theories, for the harmony would be only superficial.[1] It is far more important that the fundamental character of the contradiction between them should be clearly understood. But this is so because we cannot afford to allow any misunderstanding of the N.C.L.C. aims and methods to remain in our minds and obscure from us the real values which are being sought, whether consciously or otherwise, and at least in some measure attained, by Labour College students.

The determining characteristic of the Independent Working Class Education movement is that it seeks above all things freedom. As yet it has not learnt to interpret freedom except with the narrowness of an acute reaction from "wage-slavery." Consequently, in its quest of economic freedom it has plunged blindly into an intellectual servitude. It has made a dogma of the Materialist Conception of History because Marx taught that doctrine. But what recommends Marx to the average working-man reader is the searching analysis of industrial and social conditions

University diploma as a sufficient guarantee of a tutor's fitness . . . will not be because it will demand a 'bias' on the workers' side as either a necessary or a desirable qualification, but because it will know that the working-class view of history is the true one, and it will demand of its tutors, and for its students, 'the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.'"

[1] Mr. Cole, in an article on "The Crisis in Workers' Education" in *The Highway*, vol. xvi. No. 1, Winter 1923, strongly urges an adjustment of relationships between the W.E.A. and the N.C.L.C. on this basis, lest ordinary members of Trade Unions, puzzled by the perpetual controversy, should abandon both.

to be found in *Das Kapital* and other of the Marxian writings. Because Marx pictured the existing situation with such terrible fidelity it has been assumed by his disciples that his mind was as powerful synthetically as it was analytically, that he could prescribe as effectively as he could diagnose. But just as William James, the brilliant psychologist, proved to be no metaphysician, so Marx and his school were specialists in one social science without possessing more than average ability, if that, in others. Unfortunately, it is impossible to solve the problems of society by brilliant economic analysis alone. This Marxists are in process of discovering by experience. When they have learned it they will realise that no sound education can begin with deliberate omissions ; as Dr. Mansbridge said at the very beginning of the movement that he founded, " a tutorial class in economics should have access to the opinions of all economic writers, the orthodox equally with the unorthodox. No class, for example, can afford to disregard either Marshall or Marx."[1] At present the economic tends to overshadow everything else in the thought of many a Labour College student—and this because he has felt his spirit so much in bondage to material conditions, his personality so crippled by conditions of life that appear for him inescapable, that he has made a hasty generalisation ; or rather, he has accepted the generalisation made for him in the Materialist Conception of History, which regards economic circumstances as completely determining human development. So it comes about, for example, that a reviewer of Mr. J. Lewis' very radical book on *The Old Testament in the Twentieth Century*[2] begins by saying that : " several of the more important points of the theory of Historical Materialism are clearly illustrated by events and phases of this section of world history."[3] Thus, again, the first two paragraphs in

[1] *University Tutorial Classes*, p. 119. [2] 1923.

[3] *The Plebs*, November 1923, p. 501. An even clearer illustration perhaps occurs in an excellent article on Socialism and the Drama, by Mr. T. Ashcroft, in *The Plebs* for September 1924 : " It has been customary to draw a distinction between the ' idealist ' and the

the first chapter of the Plebs *Outline of Psychology* explain that all that a man is can be summed up as the effect upon him of the environment created by the material conditions of production. But the section on "The 'Purpose' of Life" in the second chapter says: "If, instead of asking what is the purpose of life, we ask what is the end to which all living organisms can be seen to be striving, the answer is 'the greater control of the environment.'" The impulse towards freedom asserts itself. The whole implicit tendency of the studies pursued by the Plebs student is to show how man is greater than his material environment and may master it. Values that are not material and that are not even economic begin to emerge. "His conation, which is the essence of his life, urges him to resist and conquer the changes in the environment, to subdue it for the benefit of himself, his fellows, and posterity. For Marxians the 'purpose' of life is to fulfil the destiny to which conation urges man, the ever-increasing control of his environment. This urge of life, conation, causes man to perform those actions which make his history." [1] So in the Preface we read that Psycho-

'materialist' Socialist, or between the evolutionary and the revolutionary Socialist. There is here an important problem, both philosophically and politically; but here, we are concerned only with the matter in relation to the problem of Socialism and Art. We need only say that the Socialist is of necessity both materialist and idealist. The most hardened materialist will assert that the material or economic revolution is a means, not an end. The most emotional of idealists, by the very fact of being a Socialist, demonstrates that he recognises the economic revolution to be essential in order that men may live in freedom and fellowship; he is anxious to be known, not merely as an idealist, but as a *practical* idealist; and what is this but another word for *materialist* idealist?"

[1] Pp. 5, 9, 10. "*Economics is the study of man's present relationship to the environment created by the material conditions of production. History is the study of the past interactions between man and that environment. Psychology is the study of the ways in which man reacts to that environment. Man's reaction is effected through a definite mechanism. The better we understand that mechanism, as it works in the individual and in the group, the better shall we be able, by our conscious action, to adapt ourselves to the economic changes which are taking place in society, to concentrate our efforts into those channels which*

logy is " a contribution to proletarian science—to a science formulated, understood, and expounded by revolutionary workers for revolutionary workers ; a science competent to enable the working class to realise the nature of its own aims ; a science which organises forces for the destruction of a social order based upon hereditable wealth, economic inequality, and the exploitation of man by man ; and for the creation, in its place, of one based on scientific knowledge, an equal chance for all, and universal service for the good of all."

Reference has already been made to the similar emphasis, in the *Outline of Economic Geography*, upon the conviction that " nothing is impossible to human *action*." [1] This textbook, and the *Outline of Economic Imperialism*, are built upon the realisation of an interdependence between peoples

will lead to results beneficial to our class, and to avoid wasting our energy in unproductive directions.

" The student in the Independent Working Class Education movement learns to interpret the social, political, legal, cultural and religious institutions of society in the light of the *Materialist Conception of History*. According to this conception, these institutions, and the changes in them which make up human history, are the results of man's reaction to his economic environment. Man's ideals and aspirations, his beliefs, hopes and fears, are determined by the methods under which, for the time being, he gets his living. Economic influences mould his character and opinions without his knowing it. . . .

" The outlook on life which modern civilisation inherits from mediaeval theology and Hebrew tradition sometimes leads to the statement that ' man is meant (by God) to do so and so ' ; or to the question, ' What are we here for ? ' Such views are termed ' teleological.'

" If, instead of asking what is the purpose of life, we ask *what is the end to which all living organisms can be seen to be striving*, the answer is ' greater control of the environment.' . . . (Man's) conation which is the essence of his life, urges him to resist and conquer the changes in the environment, to subdue it for the benefit of himself, his fellows, and posterity. *For Marxians, the ' purpose ' of life is to fulfil the destiny to which conation urges man, the ever-increasing control of his environment.*" *Loc. cit.* (Italics theirs.)

[1] Cf. Vol. I. p 114.

as between individuals. Internationalism is inculcated as against a false nationalism. The argument in each case is made subservient to the demand for class-war throughout the world, the economic and spiritual truth so strongly put being thus at the same time denied to be really universal. Yet, though only within the limits of one world-wide class, the truth itself is recognised and proclaimed.

Man, then, is in the end the measure of things, from this point of view. "Materialist" as the "conception of history" may be, there is revealed an ultimate faith in something fundamental to human nature which can and must rise superior to the material and economic environment. To call this "conation" is but to explain *ignotum per ignotius*; it merely pushes the problem a stage further back, and takes refuge in a sham scientific phrase. The plain fact is that freedom and service, the full self-realisation of the individual as one among the great company that makes a complete and perfect society, are the values which the Independent Working Class Education Movement is blindly seeking. Its members might refuse to call these spiritual values. They have refused to distinguish between propaganda and education, and thereby have tended to rob themselves of the very conditions of clear thinking or complete knowledge, even from their own starting point. But they have set their feet upon a path which has only one ending. Already they are discovering that Dietzgen, to whom as philosopher they have given blind allegiance as they have to Marx as economist, is inadequate (even if he is intelligible),[1] and that it is really impossible to put "science" in the place of "metaphysics," though an understanding of their respective functions in the pursuit of knowledge would show how closely they are related. In a word, the demand for what Schweitzer has called a theory of the universe is making itself manifest. Indeed, the implicit and unconscious philosophy to which Mr. Clutton-Brock refers in the passage which we quoted earlier in this chapter is beginning to emerge into consciousness. It will inevitably take the

[1] Cf. correspondence in *The Plebs*, November 1923-March 1924.

form of what he has described as "the philosophy of the spirit." [1]

From the time of its foundation the movement has gradually been widening the range of studies suggested to its members. It has gone steadily deeper into the meaning of the studies pursued. Still propagandist in aims, its leaders more frequently speak now of propaganda *and* education,

[1] See p. 28 *supra*, and *The Ultimate Belief*, pp. 12, 20-23 ; cf. also P. Dearmer, chapter on "The Doctrine of Values" in *The Necessity of Art*, pp. 177-8. "Every man has a philosophy, even the man who cannot write his name. No one could get through a day without some working philosophy of life ; and the important thing to find out about our friends and our enemies is what their philosophy is. But most people have no idea that they are actuated at every turn by so august a cause. They imagine that only a few clever men can be concerned with this high-sounding affair ; and they probably think in their hearts that the clever men spend their lives in quite impractical and futile speculations." Mr. Arthur Greenwood, referring to the almost antagonistic standpoints of the W.E.A. and the Labour College, says : "Yet this divergence does not destroy the single fundamental purpose which lies behind the educational activities of the workers' organisations. This purpose springs from the impulses which have led to a demand for education. As the Adult Education Committee pointed out in their *First Interim Report* (p. 3), 'so far as the workers are concerned, they demand opportunities for education in the hope that the power which it brings will enable them to understand and help in the solution of the common problems of society. In many cases, therefore, their efforts to obtain education are specifically directed towards rendering themselves better fitted for the responsibilities of membership in political, industrial, and social organisations.' It is not possible to differentiate this motive from the desire for fuller personal development, for, in a sense, both motives are rooted in the claim for recognition of human personality. This foundation for adult education has been laid by the various working class organisations working for the advancement of the workers and the realisation of their ideals. It is a conception born of the needs of labour. The Labour College pursues the common purpose by one method, and the W.E.A. and bodies which think like it by another. The differences between the two points of view have naturally been emphasised in the past, but there is hope that misunderstandings may be cleared away and a basis of agreement reached." *Cambridge Essays on Adult Education*, pp. 123-4. Recent events strengthen this hope.

instead of treating the two as one.[1] Without ceasing to desire a revolution, many of its members have become more concerned with the quality of life that will both produce a new social order and find full opportunity of happy development under it. Thus, unconsciously perhaps, or even by a curiously negative process, this, like other adult educational movements, is seeking, and must surely in some measure be finding, values for personality, society, and the universe which can only truly be called spiritual. At least there is ground for maintaining that the power which a few men exert over a crowd by the reiteration of narrow and exclusive dogma is in the end self-destructive, and that the Independent Working Class Education movement really owes the life it has to such appeal as it makes to the universal and spiritual values set, like eternity, in the hearts of all men.

In any event, this conflict with regard to education is beyond question the most determinative of all the struggles at present convulsing the Labour Movement not only in this country, but throughout the world. The policy of our own Trades Union Congress thus far has been to recognise both elements, and to refuse exclusive power to either. At Plymouth, in 1923, during a discussion on the recommendations of the General Council that the time had not yet arrived for the Council to take over Ruskin, the Labour Colleges, and the W.E.T.U.C., the most influential leaders urged the necessity of a broad education, whether Marx was taught or not. The Council was given power to create a special fund "for assisting such working-class educational institutions as might be approved by the General Council." This was followed later by the appointment of an Education Advisory Committee, very comprehensive in its membership and wide in its terms of reference. An effort made at the Congress in 1924 to commit the Congress exclusively to the principles of the Labour Colleges failed, and the resolution in favour of "furthering independent working-class education" invoked the co-operation of the W.E.A., the Labour

[1] Cf. new constitution, p. 24 *supra*, footnote, and *Report of the National Council of Labour Colleges*, 1924.

Colleges, and " any other educational bodies willing to accept a measure of control over their organisation in the interests of the workers' education." Similarly the Conference on Workers' Education convened at Oxford by the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) declined to commit itself to one school as against the other. But the vigour of each party depends, not upon its shibboleth, but upon its grasp of spiritual values. The only salvation from internecine warfare lies in the direction to which we have already referred—that each should make these explicit, and thus that both should discover what they have in common while respecting differences of emphasis and method. As Mr. F. Bramley said at Oxford, during the Conference just mentioned : " Our educational system should be developed with the object of making it free from domination, theological or political, and designed to fit the student to develop his own faculties of observation, reasoning, and judgment. Working-class students should not become the slaves of phrases invented by their predecessors in any field of investigation. The worker's education should be a process of emancipating his mind. He suffers quite as much from intellectual slavery as from economic slavery. The freeing of the worker's mind is the first real stage of development towards securing his complete emancipation." [1]

[1] *Vide* T.U. Congress *Report*, 1924, pp. 202-4, 421-7. *Highway*, Summer and Autumn Issues, 1924 ; *Plebs*, July, August, September, October, and especially November, 1924 ; *Working-Class Education*, pp. 59-65. The committee appointed by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress included representatives of the General Council, each Union having a definite scheme of educational work, the London Labour College, Ruskin College, the Co-operative Union Education Committee, the N.C.L.C., and the W.E.A. " The functions of the Committee shall be to evolve a policy with regard to educational work for the Trade Union Movement, through the Trades Union Congress ; to endeavour to co-ordinate such activities as are already in existence ; to undertake educational work on behalf of the Trade Unions ; and to deal with any matters relating to Trade Union educational work, both in its national and international aspect, as the General Council of the Trades Union Congress may approve." It is interesting to note that while Mr. F. Bramley,

A sketch, as compared with a photograph, seizes upon a few salient features in its subject and omits masses of detail. But this does not imply that other aspects of that subject are non-existent or of minor importance ; neither does it belittle the significance of the details. The two particular movements which we have just discussed at considerable length must not be supposed to put all other adult educational activities into the shade. On the contrary, so far as mere numbers go, neither of them has a membership as large as that of either the University Extension Movement or the Adult Schools. But they are creations of the new century, and they represent in one direction the most intensive type of adult education yet achieved, and in the other an arresting example of the appeal that education, even though in bondage to dogma, makes to adults when associated with their vital and immediate interests ; they are also the two chief forms in which current working-class ideas of education have found expression.

The older movements, previously considered in their rise and growth during the nineteenth century, have not departed from the spirit and policy which they had developed by the end of that period. The Adult Schools, for instance, though very hard hit by the War so far as membership is concerned, will be seen from the fuller account of their present position, which must be given further on, to have lost nothing of their religious force, while they have steadily gained in their educational breadth and depth. The University Extension Movement celebrated its jubilee in 1923. During the second half of its history it has been animated by the ideals of its pioneers, and has had opportunities (though often restricted by financial and other considerations) of applying these in fresh circumstances. Through their Extension Boards as

General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress, succeeded Dr. Temple as President of the W.E.A., Dr. Temple being no longer able to find time for the duties of an office which he has held since it was created in 1908, Mr. A. A. Purcell, M.P., Chairman of the Congress for 1924, occupies a similar office in the N.C.L.C. For details of the Oxford Conference cf. *World Workers' Education* (1925: I.F.T.U.).

the obvious channel, the Universities made a magnificent contribution to the effort of the Y.M.C.A. Universities Committee to supply the intellectual demands of the troops on active service during the War.[1] It is no secret that thereby many of the ablest men and women in the Universities and University Colleges, from Vice-Chancellors downwards, were brought into a contact with ordinary men which stimulated their thought upon the real problem of adult education—how to bring the richest resources of learning and inspiration to men and women immersed in practical concerns, by methods and from a standpoint that will vitalise and democratise the whole undertaking. The appetite of workpeople, especially in the North, for this form of university teaching, has not diminished.[2] But the movement retains its hope and purpose of bringing all classes of the community together in order that "the individual should attain a higher and nobler development through the reasoned study of the great movements and thinkers of the past and present, and should at the same time receive a new equipment for his duties and responsibilities as a citizen, including a deep sense, through common interests, of the vital solidarity of the body politic." [3]

The new Regulations for grant-aid to adult education issued by the Board of Education as these pages are passing through the press should give Extension work a completely fresh impetus and make it much more easy for working people to participate.[4]

[1] Cf. p. 352 *infra*. See also Ministry of Reconstruction Adult Education Committee's Second Interim Report, *Education in the Army* (Cd. 9225) (1918), and *Final Report* (1919); *A Short Record of the Educational Work of the Y.M.C.A. with the British Armies in France* (1919); and *Y.M.C.A. Universities Committee Report to the Standing Committee of the National Council of Y.M.C.A.s, July* 17, 1919; and Lord Gorell, *Education and the Army* (1921).

[2] Cf. figures given by Miss Alice Thompson in her essay on the movement, *Cambridge Essays on Adult Education* (1920), p. 173. This essay and the Jubilee volume by W. H. Draper, *University Extension*, 1873-1923 (1923), form the best available recent surveys.

[3] Miss Thompson, *loc. cit.* pp. 159-160. [4] Cf. pp. 151 *infra*.

In the Co-operative movement the claim of cultural studies to at least a larger degree of attention, in comparison with that given to technical and vocational, is being steadily advanced, and the Central Education Committee are above all other groups in the Adult Education movement committed to the statement that their aim is the creation of personal and social character of a kind sufficient to establish and maintain their ideal co-operative organisation of society in all its aspects.[1] It must be admitted, however, that the results of recent research into the work of the Education Committees, as set forth in severely tabular statement, suggest that the rank and file among Co-operators are not showing their faith by their works. The attendance at classes of a technical and commercial character is overwhelming in comparison with that recorded in connection with liberal studies, even making allowance for the policy of encouraging co-operators to join classes organised by other bodies such as Local Education Authorities, the W.E.A., Adult Schools, and so forth.[2]

Among the most interesting of recent books dealing with adult education is the centenary history of Birkbeck College, which shows how, from its foundation as the first Mechanics' Institute in England to its achievement in 1920 of full status as a School of Arts and Science for evening students in the University of London, it has never surrendered two great principles—those expressed in a democratic constitution and an education which, however " practical," is not " technical." As Dr. Delisle Burns says : " Birkbeck College is now, as the London Mechanics' Institution was a century ago, first a partially self-governing association of students, and, secondly, an institution for part-time adult education of those who are actually at work in commerce and industry, in

[1] Cf. Vol. I. p. 230. The declaration of 1885 is still set in the forefront of the Co-operative Education movement. Cf. the *Wholesale Co-operative Society's Annual*, year by year, for reports of work and statements of policy.

[2] *Vide* H. J. Twigg : *The Organisation and Extent of Co-operative Education* (1924), especially pp. 26-31.

journalism, in the Civil Service, or in the schools . . . the College still provides for the educational needs of those who are making their living while they increase their knowledge and their skill in the arts of life." [1]

The last-named point is of particular interest because it reminds us that one much-needed correction of the conventional idea of adult education has begun to be made during this last quarter of a century. Undoubtedly the whole movement began as an endeavour to instruct " the poor," and to put a measure of learning within the reach of those who, even if they had had the unusual good fortune to secure some sort of elementary education, had no facilities at all for pursuing their studies further. But even the later experiments all set out with the notion of educating " the working classes," and we have noticed how one after another they were criticised, or spontaneously accused themselves of failure, if in the end they attracted more " clerks " or " middle-class " people than " working-class " people.[2] It is now beginning to be realised that middle-class people need adult education quite as much as working-class people do, and that the movement ought not to be regarded as concerned with one class in the community more than another. Lord Eustace Percy has lately drawn attention to this in a penetrating discussion of Education and National Politics. As he observes, there was a decay of the old aristocratic culture and a rise of middle-class education, which we know as " modern education." This was utilitarian in its bias and produced " experts rather than educated men." [3] To these influences Lord Eustace traces much that characterises the Conservative, Liberal, and Labour party politics, and he pleads for a revival of culture in politics. The significance

[1] *A Short History of Birkbeck College*, pp. 13, 15.

[2] *E.g.* the Mechanics' Institutes and the University Extension Movement, cf. Vol. I. pp. 163, 278-9.

[3] *The Way Out*, pp. 64-65. " It has emphasized the ' private ends' of the sciences; it has made them subservient, not to knowledge, but to the attainment of material social well-being; it has bred experts rather than educated men."

for us of the fact that adult education is finding its way among people of all social groups is that, the more these can be brought to share their educational adventures and discoveries, the more chance is there that adult education will become the rich and fully unified experience that it ought to be, omitting none of the great spiritual values, moral, intellectual and aesthetic, from its quest.

Beside the older movements and the two specifically working-class organisations brought to birth by the new century, the W.E.A. and the Independent Working Class Education movement, two others, even more recent, should be given due place in any reasonably accurate picture of adult education as it is now. One of these is the Women's Institutes movement, which, starting in England during the War, spread rapidly through the villages, until there are now some 2000 Institutes, practically all of them being in villages of less than 3000 population, affiliated to the central Federation.[1] The interesting thing about them is not only their vitality, but the fact that they represent so definitely the needs and aspirations of rural life, and that, beginning with domestic interests, they have fostered the latent desire of women of all classes (for each Institute is intended to comprehend all the women resident in its area, and is constituted on a democratic basis) for an understanding of the wider world, and power to play their part therein. Moreover, the Institutes have been very effective allies of other organisations (men's clubs, adult schools, the Y.M.C.A., the W.E.A., and so forth) in helping to lay the foundations of the Rural Community Council movement which is now bidding fair to transform the educational and recreative life of the countryside, county by county.[2] There is a steadily growing demand

[1] The total membership was estimated by the National Federation at 180,000 in April 1924.

[2] *Vide* Board of Education Adult Education Committee's Reports on *Adult Education in Rural Areas* and *Adult Education among Women* (1923). Also *The Educational Possibilities of Village Clubs* (1923), being a Report of a Committee of Enquiry appointed by the Department of Adult Education, University College, Nottingham,

among the rural population for cultural facilities, which indicates a deep sense of spiritual values. The same may be said, with certain reservations, concerning the remarkable revival throughout England, in towns as well as villages, of music and drama as recreative expressions of spiritual vitality, and not merely as pastimes.[1]

The other new movement need only be mentioned at this point. It is fully described in a subsequent chapter. Under the name of Educational Settlements there have sprung up in various parts of England a number of community centres of adult education which bring together under one roof as many as possible of the autonomous educational groups, with special purposes and characteristics of their own, in the neighbourhood, and enable them to carry on their work in a collegiate atmosphere.[2] With a common representative council as the medium of democratic government and a students' association, with its common-room, as the organ of a social life rich in the diversity of its elements and the unity

at the request of the North Midland Division of the Y.M.C.A. "There is no doubt that the initial success of the Institutes (in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Lincolnshire) was due to their direct appeal to the immediate interests of their members, and that they would probably have failed had they attempted anything more ambitious at the start. But there is evidence now of a growing demand for subjects of greater intellectual value, and it is the opinion of the Committee that if the same facilities could be offered for courses in Music, Literature, Local History, etc., as are at present offered for courses in Domestic and Homecrafts subjects, the Institutes would be eager to avail themselves of these new and wider opportunities." "Literature, Local History, and Citizenship" are the subjects for which the Committee found the greatest demand to exist, and they give remarkable figures as to the proportion and type of books other than fiction taken out of village circulating libraries (pp. 13, 26, 18). Cf. p. 357 f. *infra* for experience of Y.M.C.A. in rural educational work.

[1] Cf. Board of Education Adult Education Committee Report on *British Music* (1924), and forthcoming Report on Drama.

[2] In 1924 there were fifteen Settlements, with a student membership of approximately 5,000, affiliated to the E.S.A., together with three residential colleges affording a non-vocational course of one, and in a few cases two, years' duration to some 120 adult students.

of its spirit, each of them is as the city that stands foursquare and has twelve gates. Their hope is that by co-operative effort a fellowship may be achieved which owes nothing to the suppression or exclusion of any group engaged upon a genuinely educational pursuit, and everything to the mutual appreciation of the spiritual values that each group is seeking, whether in a W.E.A. or a Labour College class, an adult school or a dramatic society, a parson's confraternity or a teachers' club. A typical Educational Settlement, while comprehending the ordinary " secular " or " neutral " groups, does not hesitate also to comprehend the " religious." And this is because it seeks to meet the whole need, educationally, of every man and woman in the whole community who cares to enter its fellowship. " Our philosophy, then," says one of the pioneers of the movement, " is that the solution of most of life's problems lies with education, and that the task of the modern Settlement is to quicken and develop the personal life of the individual and the social life of the community, and to research into the obstacles which retard the full development of the individual, and which hinder the growth of the community spirit." [1]

In the early part of the nineteenth century adult education made its way in the teeth of determined opposition. It owed its progress to the devotion of the few privileged and

[1] Horace Fleming, Honorary Warden of Beechcroft, *The Philosophy of Settlements* (1922), p. 5. Cf. also : " The end is the development of the whole personality. Every Settlement worker endeavours to keep in view that knowledge is not for its own sake, but for life's sake. The aim is to help men and women to enter fully into life, to be of service in the world in which they find themselves, to have wide interests and large views ; to recognise the substance of the spirit rather than the shadow of the label. In other words, it is to lead men out of the insular, the sectarian and the personal into the wide expansiveness of the Kingdom of God, and to teach them to judge their lives, their interests and their politics by its standards. The democracy we are working for is one in which the creative interest of the individual is trained and set free to contribute its full share to the social consciousness, and to find adequate expression in work, leisure and civic life." *Idem, Education through Settlements* (1921), p. 5.

educated men and women who wholeheartedly believed that the less fortunate members of society desired it and had a right to it, as much as to the enthusiasm of those to whom they opened doors of opportunity. To-day it has to face but little open antagonism. Philistinism and false economy have yet to be overcome. There is also a real danger of exploitation, which is a far more subtle attack upon anything that belongs to the realm of the spirit. For every fool who has no use for education (whether of himself or of other people) there is at least one knave who will try to make an illicit use of it. Thus it comes about that adult education may be "capitalist dope," "sectarian dope," "communistic dope" no less. On the whole one would prefer the violent partisanship of the Plebs League, with its engaging motto, "I can promise to be candid, but not impartial," to the quiet cynicism of some capitalist groups which would provide lectures and classes, libraries and music for the multitude much as the old Roman yielded to the cry for *panem et circenses*, in order to divert attention from the true state of affairs. There is a latent idealism, a twisted humanism, in an honest admixture of dogma and education. There is only a sordid dishonesty in giving to reactionary propaganda so complete an educational disguise that even its human instruments, organisers and teachers, are honestly unaware of the use to which they are being put. Broadly speaking, however, not only are many of the most trusted leaders of all parties, sects and classes, as individuals, strong advocates of adult education, but the most representative organisations, political, social, industrial, and religious, put it in the forefront of their programmes. And they do so with a genuine belief in its power to establish in men's thoughts and lives those spiritual values for the sake of which alone will men and women endure toil, take risks, and hold loyally together at a task or in a cause. In six months any attentive reader of *The Times* could easily fill a newspaper cuttings book with pertinent extracts from speeches, letters, articles, manifestoes, and reports, emanating from responsible people on occasions and in circumstances that

make light utterance of ill-considered opinion fatal to reputation and influence. Rarely will he discover one that is adverse to our contention. Often will he find, among the expressions of opinion, the record of actions wherein individuals or groups have given concrete effect to their views. Whatever reasons they may advance for what they think or what they do, a little close examination will show that faith in personality and social progress animates it all, and often enough that faith will reach out to the universe ; it will prove again, as Dr. Dearmer has said, that " religion is to believe in the Ultimate Values, and in the Unity behind them. A man who is properly religious may not equally understand them all, or have triple gifts ; but he will accept them all, reverence them all, and in the measure of his capacity will help them all to dominate the world." [1]

This advocacy of an education that makes men and not human machines springs from a deep concern that no aspect of our common life should remain unrelated to the ideals of self-expression and service. The motives which the Adult Education Committee's Report of 1919 declared to be primary among the students themselves [2] are found to be identical with the reasons given by leaders in politics, industry, and commerce for promoting the movement. The impetus to seek opportunities of education and the driving force for the provision of them are both traceable to a variety of interests in the complex life of the nation, none of which

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 181.

[2] " *The Motives behind Adult Education* : The Adult Educational movement is inextricably interwoven with the whole of the organised life of the community. Whilst on the one hand it originates in a desire among individuals for adequate opportunities for self-expression and the cultivation of their personal powers and interests, it is, on the other hand, rooted in the social aspirations of the democratic movements of the country. In other words, it rests upon the twin principles of personal development and social service. It aims at satisfying the needs of the individual and at the attainment of new standards of citizenship and a better social order. In some cases the personal motive predominates. In perhaps the greater majority of cases the dynamic character of adult education is due to its social motive." *Final Report* (1919), § 168, p. 330.

can justly be called utilitarian, partisan or sectional, though each has its special appeal to one or another of the groups into which a nation naturally falls. The diversity and yet the unity and interdependence of studies, which we have already seen to be essential to any true educational movement, we now see to be the counterpart of many different phases of a unified national life. The spirit that works in an enthusiasm for each and all of them is the spirit that alone renders the progress of the nation possible. Those spiritual values which they reveal are the values by which every nation in the end must live.

The history of adult education itself affords incontestable evidence of this on the one hand.[1] On the other we are perpetually reminded of it by such men as Mr. J. R. Clynes, when they have to deal with current social and political problems. Thus, speaking in the House of Commons on the subject of Unemployment, he said : " Taking every thousand persons between the ages of 15 and 23—the years in which education operates, the receptive years, the educational years—taking every thousand persons between those ages in this country, only one hundred are going to a school of any kind and getting any kind of educational instruction. You have therefore the great mass of the working classes, qualified to vote, qualified to organise in their trade unions, entitled to all the rights of a nation progressive in every other direction, and yet doomed to this state of ignorance,

[1] " Adult Education, in particular, since it is concerned with minds which are already mature, cannot be interpreted in isolation from the interests and preoccupations which form the background to the intellectual activities of each generation. Its history during the last century has reflected the different currents of thought which have found their other expressions in religious growth, economic reconstruction, scientific discoveries and invention, political agitation and social ferment. It has drawn inspiration from churches and chapels, from the achievements of physical science, from the development of cheap literature and of a popular press, from Co-operation and Trade Unionism, from Chartism and more recent political developments. It will continue, we think, to be influenced in the future by a not less wide and various range of interests." Adult Education Committee's *Final Report* (1919), § 2, p. 9.

and reaching an age of maturity without ever, I may say, reaching an age of wisdom." [1] A keen observer, experienced in politics, diplomacy, and education, touches upon a still wider political issue when he asks whether, having secured after prolonged struggles our much-prized liberty of conscience, we are now able to defend it *against ourselves*, and to maintain the spirit of citizenship amidst the perils conditioned by narrow political activities.[2]

So, also, in industry. When, in 1922, the "Geddes Axe" descended upon education no protests were stronger than those of manufacturers and merchants, who said with Mr. Kenneth Lee, "I would rather see anything touched except education and research. . . . I feel that the nation that is poorly educated will be the drudge of the world." [3] Point was added to these protests by the fact that they came from members of firms which for years before had given, as they continue to give, educational facilities of the most varied kind to their employees. Many of the "works schools" that had proved the value of part-time continuation schools long before the Fisher Act made these in 1918 a part of the national system were almost entirely non-vocational in their curriculum, and the tendency was to reduce the technical

[1] Dec. 9, 1920, *Hansard*, Vol. 135, No. 156, Col. 2518.

[2] "Looking back on history, we can see that the greatest struggle of the western world has been for liberty of conscience. We have vindicated that liberty against all outside authorities, against kings and popes and parliaments. The question to-day is whether, having secured that liberty, we can defend it against ourselves. If conscience and thought and character, all our interests in life, the conduct of our work and the occupations of our leisure—in short, everything that education means—are to be squeezed into the mould of a political party or a particular conception of state organisation, then such a tendency can only be called the suicide of liberty." Lord Eustace Percy, "Education and National Politics," *The Way Out*, p. 61.

[3] Letter to *The Times*, Jan. 12, 1922. Mr. Lee spoke not only for himself but for the firm of Tootal, Broadhurst & Co. He makes it clear that the end in view is not primarily competitive efficiency, or output, but the ability of workpeople to participate fully in the whole enterprise of business as a creative service of society.

element rather than to increase it.[1] At the present time many firms are giving bursaries to their employees to enable them to take a full year's course at one or other of the residential colleges, where practically the sole restriction with regard to the curriculum is that it must be non-technical and non-vocational; while some firms give employees who show the sincerity of their desire for it and their ability to profit by it sufficient time off each week, during the day and with payment of full wages, for them to pursue general studies, as at Fircroft, or a degree course, as at Nottingham University College.[2] Deeds speak louder than words!

Pathfinders are often far beyond the range of vision of those who one day will look upon these "new ways" as familiar beaten tracks. But neither Labour leaders nor business magnates who have proved in the matter of adult education, like David Livingstone in his magnificent association of Christian humanism and enlightened commerce, men "of a forward tread," lack the support of the recognised organisations to which they belong. For example, the Federation of British Industries, while characteristic in its reference to increased output as a condition of educational progress, does interpret the function of education as to "implant ideals and develop capacities for a fuller and freer life," and goes on to advocate the closest possible co-operation between employers, employed, and educational organisations in the promotion of such education, quoting with special approval an experiment at Dewsbury, where "the curriculum is framed in order to train the character, develop the intellectual powers, and cultivate physical soundness, and is of a general educational character."[3] With this may

[1] *Vide* my *Working Out the Fisher Act* (1921), pp. 32-35, 71-72; W. J. Wray and others, *A Day Continuation School at Work* (1920), p. 1; B. Seebohm Rowntree, *The Human Factor in Business*, pp. 110-111.

[2] *Vide* Annual Reports of the Residential College for Working Women at Beckenham; Reports of the Adult Education Department, University College of Nottingham; R. W. Ferguson, *Education in the Factory* (1924), etc.

[3] *Report on Compulsory Continued Education* (1919), p. 6.

be compared the ideals which the Labour Party at about the same time set before the country, wherein the aim postulated for continuation schools is "not vocational training, but the development of the individual through general education and through the association of young persons in a common life under inspiring leadership." [1] The relevance of these views concerning continuation schools to the question of adult education is, of course, very close, since one of the reasons for apathy among working class people with respect to adult education is, as the Trade Union Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Trade Unionists so emphatically asserted, the fatal "gap" between leaving an ordinary elementary school at fourteen and turning again to study ten or fifteen years later under the impulse of a new sense of personal or social responsibility. That enquiry, also, led to the conclusion that "it is becoming urgent that, so far as possible, trade unionists, but more especially those holding positions of responsibility in executive, district, and branch organisations, should be men and women having a wide range of knowledge germane to economic and political problems, and such trained capacity as will enable them not only to understand the immediate results of decisions and actions, but also to foresee possible ultimate results." But this, again, necessitates cultural education, as the Committee does not fail to insist, adding that "the subjects of study in which trade unionists are interested are very diversified . . . and there exists a very extensive latent desire for education which has not yet been stimulated." [2]

[1] *Official Memoranda on Continued Education* (1919), pp. 10-11.

[2] The Committee says: "We have received memoranda from a number of representatives of national trade unions dealing with the educational needs of their respective organisations. The perusal of these proves conclusively that the subjects of study in which trade unionists are interested are very diversified, that the demand is scattered, the standard of educational attainment aimed at is very varied, and there exists a very extensive latent desire for education which has not yet been stimulated. . . . The subjects of study desired by trade union members cover the whole field of social

While, then, the extent of the adult movement as we see it in the England of to-day is still so lamentably small in proportion to the size of our population, it has this great advantage over its progenitors of two or three generations ago. It has clarified and enlarged its aims and is coming more fully to understand the nature of the spiritual values that have already been implicit in its quest. But, despite all the difficulties arising from industrial conditions,[1] from demands for national " economy," and from the misdirected efforts of unduly academic or overwhelmingly partisan elements, it can count upon a widespread and growing conviction among all sorts of people outside its own borders that its progress is vital to every true interest of the national life. That conviction, moreover, is founded upon practical idealism. It is reinforced by the hopes and fears born of more intimate acquaintance with international problems. Above all, the disillusionment which the years since 1918 have brought has taught us that unless, indeed, " man has for ever," we may as well cease to believe in progress, and with open eyes embrace uncompromising pessimism and materialism as the truth about ourselves and our world. We are, in fact, driven to the universal as the sole explanation of

science and many other subjects which are not usually included in this category, such as literature, music and art. Usually working-class students begin by requesting facilities for the study of trade union history, industrial history, problems of industrial control, and economics. These, however, only cover a small part of the wide range of subjects now being studied by trade union students. The following list of actual subjects studied, although far from complete, illustrates the diversified interests of trade union students :—Trade Union History and Problems ; Co-operative History and Problems ; Industrial History ; Political History ; History of Social Movements ; Problems of Reconstruction ; Industrial Administration ; Local Government ; Economic Theory ; Political Theory ; International Problems ; Psychology ; Biology ; Social Psychology ; Sociology ; Philosophy ; Literature ; Music ; Art." *Adult Education and the Trade Unionist* (1920), pp. 6-7.

[1] Cf. Ministry of Reconstruction Adult Education Committee's First Interim Report on *Industrial and Social Conditions in Relation to Adult Education* (Cd. 9107), 1918.

the spiritual values in personality and society to which, even in our darkest and most perverse moments, we find ourselves instinctively and determinedly clinging.

The last words of a book that admittedly has no equal as an authoritative and humanistic study of industrial history from 1760 till 1832 are a poignant summary of the whole story—" the spirit of fellowship was dead." [1] Now it is this very spirit of fellowship that the adult education movement generates and maintains. In all the diverse groups to which we have referred the students acclaim it as their most cherished experience.[2] As time goes on, the very nature of true education will necessitate closer contact between those groups and a fellowship which is more comprehensive as well as far richer. Some Educational Settlements have already proved this, for their Students' Associations contain members of every type of educational group that we have mentioned, and of others beside.[3] Mr. and Mrs. Hammond attribute

[1] J. L. and Barbara Hammond : *The Town Labourer*, p. 329.

[2] This is well illustrated in the Appendix to the 1919 Report of the Adult Education Committee, where an account of the very remarkable North Staffordshire Miners' Higher Education Movement says : " The purpose of the Movement in establishing and conducting classes is the personal development of the individual student and preparation for citizenship and service in the organisations of which he is a member. The movement, in fact, is already something more than a group of classes. It is a network of friendships and loyalties binding together not only the members of the same classes, but students and teachers everywhere in an educational effort ' for the good of all ' " (p. 307). Cf. also Mr. T. Myers, M.P., in an address to Industrial Administrators at a Lecture Conference held in York, February 24-26, 1922, his subject being " Labour's Immediate Ideal for Industry " : " I am a great believer in the cementing of human relationships. Some people, the people who want to keep all the old evils intact, say that Labour is out merely to upset the existing order of society. But the solution of things will not arrive in that way. It will arrive along lines of fellowship and association, education and evolutionary development. We have to give that tendency direction and interpretation." *Report* of the Conference, p. 13.

[3] See *e.g.* Annual *Reports* of Beechcroft Educational Settlement, Birkenhead.

the " failure in fellowship " which was the worst outcome of the Industrial Revolution to the rise of a school of political theory and another of economic theory which rationalised " the worship of wealth as an end in itself." But they lay a heavier burden of responsibility still upon the prevalent type of religion, which was not only as individualistic as these secular creeds, but also tended " to separate the world of the spirit from the world of public life." It therefore uttered no challenge to materialism in politics and industry. It patronised the poor, and exhorted them to patience ; " in the eyes of that religion the poor were only important as the servants of the will and intelligence of others, ' a necessary part of the social system.' " [1] We have seen, too, how education was, to the typical representatives of that misrepresentation of Christianity, an instrument of propaganda or an occasion of violent sectarian strife—though the vitality of a real Christianity was proved by the few men and women who, in fact, became the pioneers of adult education in England.[2]

It is here that one of the greatest of all changes has occurred, during the present century, in the environment of the adult education movement. General opinion in the Churches of a

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 327-329. Cf. : " Have you any reason to believe that in the present distress which prevails in Spitalfields the poor have submitted to their circumstances in quietness, in consequence of the benevolent aid of those societies ? " " That is, I believe, the opinion of the very best informed persons, manufacturers and others, who have long resided in Spitalfields, and are well acquainted with the temper of that immense mass of poor. These gentlemen, I know, ascribe their present peaceable temper to the moral influence which has been diffused among them by means of the Sunday and other schools, visiting societies, etc., and to the relief which the benevolent public have afforded them under their various distresses." " You have stated that the best effects have resulted from the efforts of the Spitalfields Benevolent Society. What is the general condition of the poor in Spitalfields at present ? " " They are still in a most destitute condition." Quoted from the Report of Brougham's Commission, 1816, by Dr. H. Wodehouse, *History of Education*, p. 154.

[2] Cf. Vol. I. pp. 260-265.

hundred years ago was doubtful of the wisdom of giving education to adults, and often definitely opposed to it. There appears never to have been any official declaration on the subject, one way or the other. To-day adult education is perceived to be a spiritual activity and is actively promoted, as we have already remarked, by some of the most enthusiastic and loyal leaders of the various Christian denominations; but they, too, like the politicians, trade unionists, and business men, have representative bodies behind them.

Thus in one important pronouncement, while failure to seize and utilise aright the opportunity of service through education is admitted, the cause of that failure is confessed to be that the true nature of religious education has not been recognised. The distinction between an education permeated by religious principles and a system of instruction in the doctrines of a particular religion is clearly drawn. Then comes the significant statement which commits every Christian denomination that accepts it to the very ideals and tasks which emerged in our discussion of the meaning of adult education.[1] Each of the two conceptions of religious education is held to be important, but: "It is the former which is most important. True education is always concerned with the whole being of man and not only with one part of it. Its aim is the development of an entire personality—bodily, mental, and spiritual—and the personality so produced is to be regarded not as a means only, but as an end in itself. In other words, the function of education is the training of the sons of God. From this two results follow: one is that the aim of education must always be spiritual and not utilitarian; and the other is that it must give the right relation to the world of physical nature, to the world of human history and endeavour, and to the world of spiritual life. This is the old triple division of Science, the Humanities, and Religion. If these three are treated as separate departments which can be isolated from each other, a false outlook is at once created. There are

[1] Vol. I.

now many interests competing for the attention of even the simplest minds. Religion must appear in its right place as the inspirer and controller of all these ; if we do it the injury of presenting it merely as one department of life it is likely that by many people no place will be found for it at all. Indeed, the whole of education is religious or non-religious. . . . Religion is ideally a leaven of the whole life, running through all ; there is no line separating religious and secular." [1]

This is an Anglican statement, but there is the best of reasons for believing that it expresses the point of view both of the Roman hierarchy in England and of the Free Churches. No common declaration has been made by the Free Churches, but the Congregationalists and the Society of Friends both have to their credit documents which interpret education in the same way, and urge upon their respective denominations, as a duty, active participation in the work of " secular " organisations for adult education as well as in the adult educational activities of the local churches themselves.[2]

Even more incisive is the treatment of education by a representative body of Anglican clergy and lay people who deal with it in its relation to the Church and Industrial Problems. They speak of it as having a very simple but revolutionary object—" to enable human beings to become themselves." They regard it as essentially social, the witness to equality, and the foundation of democracy. " Education is, in short, the organised aid to the development of human beings in society." This being so, education " should occupy a primary place in the thoughts and aspirations of all who are concerned for the application of Christian principles to social life." Each is a source of strength to the other.

[1] Report of the Archbishops' Committee on *The Teaching Office of the Church* (1918), pp. 34-35.

[2] Cf. *The Church as a School of Christian Education* (1922), especially pp. 15-35, 90-105. *Can Religion be Taught ? A Quaker Contribution* (1923). The former is a Report presented by a special Commission, the latter a special Report of the Central Education Committee of the Society of Friends.

Moreover, "the ultimate object of education is the development of personality," and the sanctity of human personality receives special stress in the New Testament. The fruit of education is service of one's fellows, and this, which is the essence of citizenship, is also central to Christian teaching. "The gravest obstacle to the progress of education is the materialism which would subordinate the cultivation of human faculties to the exigencies, or alleged exigencies, of industry, which two generations ago condemned children of ten to inhuman toil in factories and mines, which still permits many thousands of young persons to be stunted in body and mind by excessive and premature toil, and which regards the suggestion of increased educational expenditure as an inroad upon its riches or a menace to its comfort." Consequently, the Christian "is bound to do his best to aid, according to his opportunity, the progress of education, because, after the Church, education is the most formal and public recognition of the claims of the spirit which the world has allowed." With equal force it is asserted that, valuable and important as technical and professional education must clearly be, the essential thing is that a man should be educated in the things that belong to all men, and that do not depend upon differentiation according to means, social status, or calling.

As to adult education in particular, the writers say that "in addition to the young persons who, having passed through a secondary school, desire to study full time in a University preparatory to entering a profession, there are an even larger number of adult men and women who desire education of the type obtained in universities in order to enlarge their minds and to fit themselves better for the duties of citizenship. They seek it, not so much for the purpose of self-advancement, as in order to put it at the service of their fellows in various movements and organisations. This demand for higher education on the part of adult men and women has grown rapidly during the last ten years, and in our opinion it is of urgent importance that it should be met. The aim of educational reform must not merely be to establish such equality of opportunity that the

children of the working classes may find it as easy as the children of the well-to-do to pass to the Universities and to enter such professions as they may choose, but to enable those who will remain workmen to be as well educated as those who will enter the professions." [1]

Here again the Anglican Church may be said to speak for all the others. If any doubt has existed as to the ability of the Churches to transcend denominational differences and to speak with one voice on the main issues of education and social life, it should now have been dispelled by their concerted action on the occasion of the Birmingham Conference on Christian Politics, Economics, and Citizenship.[1] The integral relationship of education to religion, and of both to every aspect of human life, has there been unhesitatingly

[1] Report of the Archbishops' Committee on *Christianity and Industrial Problems* (1919), pp. 109-116, 130-131. One other paragraph may well be compared with what has previously been quoted from "secular" documents. "The primary object of education must be a spiritual one. The Christian view of society is that men are first of all men, not animals, servants or tools. The first aim of education, therefore, must be to make, not more efficient workers, but better men, better citizens, and better Christians. Much emphasis is laid at the present time upon the contribution which education may make to productive efficiency, and we do not underestimate the importance of technical and professional training. But, valuable as such training is in its own sphere, it cannot, however highly it may be developed, relieve the community of the duty of cultivating through education those faculties of initiative, of judgment, and of intelligent sympathy with what is excellent in human achievement, which, because they are the attributes of men, are not distinctive of any class or profession of men. In particular, Christians cannot accept the view sometimes advanced which would regard a humane or liberal education as suitable only for those entering the professions, and which would estimate the success of the education offered to the great majority of the population by its ability to qualify them for more efficient labour in their various occupations. There must be diversity of educational methods because there are diversities of gifts. But the basis of differentiation should be differences of taste or of capacity, not differences of class or of income. The manual worker needs a liberal education for the same reason as the barrister or the doctor—that he may develop his faculties and play a reasonable part in the affairs of the community."

declared. The realisation of "new personal values" and consequently the building of a new social order, springing from a true conception of the nature and purpose of God, were agreed to be the sole hope of solving the manifold problems that vex and baffle our generation. Perpetually education in one form or another was avowed to be an obvious way towards achieving such a solution—but always education as a spiritual enrichment and enfranchisement, never as a mere equipment or endowment.[1]

Thus it would seem that in essentials this century has already witnessed the growth of mutual understanding between the adult education movement and those other forces in the national life which ought to be, but in other days have not been, its natural allies. This is due, in large part, to the fact that all alike are coming to look upon education as concerned primarily with spiritual values, however these values may be described. One group may speak of them from a religious standpoint, another from that of social freedom, a third from that of self-fulfilment. Yet all, in the end, seek the same thing. What is needed now is a common recognition of this unity in difference, and thence the natural development of a co-operation between the many members of one body.

Mr. A. E. Zimmern has lately reminded us that "the war made an appeal, not to this or that element in us, but to the whole man, to everything in every man." That is true in an even wider sense than he may have intended, since those who were roused to final and complete refusal of military service experienced no less a challenge and revealed, on minesweepers and in No-man's Land as well as in England's prisons, no less a power of response to it than did those who took up arms. But since then there has been creeping upon us, as Mr. Zimmern says, an unreal division between things that are in truth inseparable, and this "duality of inner life" proves dangerous. It is urgent that we should not only perceive, but give practical expression to, the fact that

[1] See Report, vols. i.-xii. (1924), especially vol. ii.; *Education*, pp. 18, 49-50, 141-174, 193, 204-206.

" the two spheres, that of education and that of religion, not only overlap, but interpenetrate one another. The tendency to divide them, to classify our moral and intellectual life into separate and watertight compartments, is precisely one of the causes of our present dissatisfaction and *malaise*. The life of the spirit is a seamless garment." [1]

Yet it may be questioned whether the declarations of great representative bodies or the appeals of independent and thoughtful observers will, by themselves, go far to produce the unity among the varied forces of adult education that is clearly essential if education is to have its perfect work among us. Rather is it likely that we shall achieve this sense of oneness as we go on with our respective tasks, asking ourselves ever more searchingly what it really is that we are about, what others are about, where our spheres actually touch, where we discover interdependence. Theory and practice are both needed. Mutual respect and progressive co-operation must go hand in hand.

Our endeavour has been, in this chapter, to indicate the main existing streams of adult educational effort, and by careful comparison to show their significance with regard to spiritual values. Close examination will show that there are three types of organisation, if we classify them on the basis of their attitude, not to spiritual values, to which all of them attach supreme importance either implicitly or explicitly, but specifically to religion. One group declares itself neutral ; no considerable educational movement is definitely anti-spiritual, or has accomplished anything on such a basis, though some have been and are in general opposition to certain forms which they confuse with the vital spirit of religion. Another group is comprehensive, placing religion alongside other phases of human experience as a legitimate, and indeed an essential, subject of study. The third is

[1] " Christianity then teaches us, if we value its lessons at all, that the outward order is contingent upon the inner ; that if we persist in suffering confusion, disharmony, illogicality in our own souls we cannot expect to find peace, justice, and harmony in the world around us." " The Evolution of a Citizen," in *The Way Out*, pp. 31-34.

religious in the fullest sense, approaching education under the impulse of religion and finding its regulative ideas in the spiritual values revealed in and by Jesus Christ. Without going into detail we have noted how large a volume of activity lies behind the declarations and policies of the first two groups. Indeed, it is often easier to understand their faith by their works than otherwise. But when we come to the third group the situation is different. We find ourselves enquiring what the Churches and allied bodies are doing to promote adult education among their own members. Their attitude has been declared in general terms. But what practical contributions are they making ? If the question of co-operation is raised, what direct activities have they to show, and how are these related, or susceptible of relation, to those of the first two groups ?

The *Final Report* of 1919, while in other respects as complete as it could well be made, was admittedly inadequate in its reference to this part of its subject. This was not because the Committee overlooked or underestimated the importance of the contribution that religious organisations have made or can make, but because, in the circumstances obtaining at that time, it was not possible to secure anything like a full statement of the facts. For many reasons, and chiefly because the work is so often sporadic, and is very varied in standard and method, they have not been recorded at the headquarters of the Churches or Societies concerned. They can never now be collected from the thousands of places and people involved, even if, in those places and by those people, they are still remembered. The scattered and disorganised character of a great part of the work, even at the present time, renders it impossible to present anything like a complete survey. But there is a sufficient amount of information available to indicate the main features of the position. In a very few cases full and accurate details are obtainable. In others thoroughly typical pieces of work can be quoted. There are also some notable experiments which suggest ways in which advance may be made. Upon this basis we must frame our estimate of what, broadly speaking,

religious bodies are now attempting and accomplishing in this matter of adult education ; what points of contact, conflict or co-operation exist between these and other educational forces ; where they may make a special contribution in method or content ; how far they should lay claim to any particular province ; in what respects they and other bodies have need of each other if either is to attain success in its individual sphere ; what are the essentials in adult education from the religious point of view, not only so far as this is carried on by definitely religious groups and in subjects directly pertaining to religion, but throughout the whole highly diversified range of effort in England to secure for all men and women an education adequate to the demands and possibilities of their lives in all their relationships.

If it be true that the present demand for adult education is fundamentally idealistic and constructive, it appears obvious that those whose primary concern is for the religious aspect of human life ought to play a great part in helping to meet the demand. If the history of adult education shows that at each new and creative epoch the influence of religious men and women has proved powerful and liberalising, we may surely hope that the same thing will happen again now. If real religion, as distinct from creed, dogma and external organisation, has invariably found in education its widest, deepest, and most natural channel, it should do so still. And if education is, as all who have appreciated it fully hasten to assert, essentially the expression and enrichment of a spirit, the development of personality in relation to society, it has a right to look for a mighty reinforcement from the side of religion, both psychologically and "theologically" as well as ethically.

II

ADULT EDUCATION IN THE CHURCHES

An ardent and very able advocate of Regional Survey recently remarked in conversation with the present writer that the differentia of a Civic Society lies in its power to produce a plan (in the architectural sense of the word). Having made a definite map, showing the particular conditions in the neighbourhood under consideration with which it is proposed to deal, it will then draw an equally definite plan of the construction required. He went on to state most emphatically that there was nothing in the life of a community that could not be put down upon paper in this way. One would like to know how he would handle this matter of adult education in the Churches by the method of maps and charts, diagrams and plans. Precision appears to be out of the question, and even completeness of information regarding the churches of all denominations within a comparatively small area, or a considerable number of churches within one denomination, seems to be unattainable. Some years of constant enquiry have resulted in the accumulation of a fairly large body of evidence, but this consists of judgments and opinions as much as of detailed facts, while the facts themselves are often disparate because methods, standards, aims and circumstances vary so widely. The evidence is none the less significant, even though any effort to present it in the form of tables or charts would be a mere pretence of being scientific.[1] Generalisation based on care-

[1] This evidence has been drawn from handbooks, reports, syllabuses, programmes, and in great measure from the very full replies which have very kindly been given by a large number of people, to whom specific enquiries were addressed by letter or in

ful observation and checked by facts drawn from as wide a range as possible is not necessarily invalid. In any case that is the only way in which it is here actually possible to proceed.

A general lack of policy among the Churches with regard to adult education is undoubtedly the reason for this condition of affairs. Indeed the Churches as a whole have not awakened to the idea that the *education* of adults is an essential part of the function of the Church at all. Perhaps it is only fair to remember that the State has only recently begun to take adult education into its purview. "Education," to the average citizen, suggests at once the elementary or secondary, continuation or technical school. It is connected in his mind with the thought of the child or the adolescent. A small percentage of the population add the work of colleges and universities to this when they speak of education. A still smaller proportion take in adult education as an integral part of the whole conception. It is only during recent years that the Government and the Local Education Authorities have begun to make definite provision, in organisation and finance, for adult education, in view of the developing activity of the Universities in this field and the far more widespread and long-continued claims of voluntary organisations. It is true that the Church has a historic place as a pioneer in education and that, particularly in the Middle Ages, she was co-partner with the Universities in practically every educational activity that existed. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Churches laid the foundation of elementary education in this

conversation. The main details thus ascertained have been cast into the form of the survey presented in the last part of this volume. They have a very vivid interest of their own, and should be studied with sympathetic attention by all who wish to understand the problem that they present. It is obvious, however, that for our immediate purpose we need a more compact statement of what is being done. While the ensuing chapters attempt to supply this, it is hoped that readers will not treat the "survey" as a mere appendix for occasional reference, but as an integral part of the book, though on a different scale and therefore appearing as a distinct section. Cf. also Preface, Vol. I.

country, and for long before that they had more than any other body of people in England to do with secondary education. Also it would have seemed reasonable to suppose that their ideal of ministering to the whole life of the people would have included education as well as worship, preaching, pastoral care, and philanthropic endeavour. But the fact remains that the direct educational work of the Church still means for most of her members Sunday Schools and similar provision for children—except perhaps in those parts of the North of England where the Sunday School has always included classes not only for young men and women but also for those who are of middle age, and even for those who are literally old people.

The detailed evidence upon which this study of Church[1] activities is based seemed to fall naturally into three divisions —work centrally organised by the various denominations, and in some cases interdenominationally ; special experiments lately initiated by individual denominations or churches ; and the miscellaneous kinds of lecture, class, and so forth, common among all Churches but dependent wholly upon local energy and enterprise for their actual form and content. On the whole the first two types may be regarded as systematic and continuous, while the third is generally the reverse. It is possible to distinguish in adult education three grades corresponding to those with which we are familiar as constituting the earlier stages of the complete educational system—primary, secondary, and university. All three are found in the more systematic adult educational work of the Church. For the most part the unsystematised work may fairly be called primary.

[1] It seems desirable, if a little arbitrary, to adopt for the sake of clearness a small convention by which in these pages we shall use the term " the Church " to include all bodies of Christian people organised for worship, fellowship, and the spread of the Gospel by speech and action ; " the Churches " to indicate these bodies severally ; and " church " (with a small c) as meaning the local congregation, parish, or assembly. We may hope thus to avoid as far as possible the use of such awkward and unacceptable words as " denomination," " Christian body," and so forth.

The point to which we must direct our special attention in turning to this aspect of our subject is a somewhat different one from that with which we have thus far been concerned. *Ex hypothesi* the Churches promote adult education because by means of it spiritual values may be discerned. As we have seen, many subjects of study related with special intimacy to religion have a great importance from other points of view as well.[1] If the Church took these alone as her specialised field she would be fulfilling a function necessary to the complete development of adult education (a function which she is supremely fitted to fulfil so long as she can do so efficiently and will relegate propaganda to its proper sphere), and would be able to render service to all adult students, whether they are numbered among her actual members or not. The questions that arise in her case are: How far is she actually accomplishing, or at least attempting, the task; what is the quantity and the quality of the work; is it widespread among her own people and does it attract others; is she dealing with subjects other than those which are generally regarded as of particularly "religious" interest, and in so far as she may do so, is she dealing with them as thoroughly or as fairly as other organisations do; if she leaves these to other bodies, is her interpretation of the subjects peculiarly appropriate to her such as to show their relationship to all the rest, and does she encourage those whom she teaches to seek knowledge of these other subjects from other and perhaps more suitable sources? In other words, given that she has a contribution to make, is she making it in any worthy measure, and is she consciously one among the mutually dependent members of that Body of Humanity which can be fully alive only as it is unified in the quest for the ultimate spiritual values, Beauty, Goodness and Truth—that Body of Humanity which, as it succeeds in its quest, discovers that it is at one with God, the Real, the Universal, the Infinite?

In order to answer these questions we need to summarise briefly the adult educational activities of the Churches,

[1] Cf. Vol. I. c. v., "A Neglected Heritage."

leaving a full description of these till later. First, therefore, we must glance at the most systematic work, which is practically co-extensive with the centrally organised activities and the special experiments. We find that there is a certain amount of work which might be compared with ordinary tutorial classes. Valiant efforts were required to start this, and as yet it is of small dimensions—how small will be realised if we say that, on a generous estimate, there are far fewer hundreds of students in these classes than there are thousands in W.E.A. three-year classes ; indeed, we shall be nearer the mark if we put it at a score in the one to every thousand in the other. Yet the total adult membership of the Churches approaches that of the Trade Unions.[1] The relevance of this particular comparison may be questioned on two grounds—first, that by no means all members of university tutorial classes are trade unionists, and secondly, that the Church classes deal with only one group of subjects, whereas university tutorial classes cover almost every group but this one. The reply is that so far as the occupations of students belonging to these two organisations are concerned, the lists have proved similar—workpeople, shopkeepers, teachers, and a sprinkling of professional people ; moreover, the subjects studied in the Church classes make a special appeal to those particular interests of the students on which their loyalty to their Churches rests, just as economics and industrial history attract men and women for the very reasons which explain their keen attachment to their Trade Unions. If the numerical comparison is made between the students working at " religious " subjects in Church classes and those who have taken up economics and industrial history in university tutorial classes it will be found that they are still not more, at the outside, than fifty to a thousand. After all, we can only compare the two very

[1] The *Labour Year Book* records a membership of 5,580,000 in 1190 Trade Unions at the end of 1922. The delegates to the Trade Union Congress at Hull in 1924 represented some 4,500,000 trade unionists. *Whitaker's Almanack* shows an adult (usually communicant) membership of some 4,837,000 among the Anglican, Free, and Roman Churches (figures mostly for 1921).

roughly, and merely in order to bring out the fact that as yet the Churches have made only the smallest of beginnings in systematic work on this level.

In point of fact the Church Tutorial Classes [1] are really the only ones that have made the attempt. As will be seen from the account of them, several, since the movement was started in 1917, have completed a three-year course, but even in these days the work has not always risen above the ordinary one-year class level. Strangely enough, the difficulty has partly been that of finding suitable tutors, and this not simply because the Board of Education has hitherto declined to make a grant towards the cost of any class in a religious subject, and therefore normal fees for work of this kind have been in such cases wildly impossible, but because the Church of England cannot easily find qualified tutors among its clergy and laypeople.[2] To these difficulties, both of finance and of personnel, we shall return. Meantime, let it be said that during the last two years the movement has made considerable advance in both the amount and the effectiveness of its work. Its ideals are guaranteed by its origin, for it was precisely those who created and did so much to establish the W.E.A. and the university tutorial class movement who, a dozen years later, set themselves as keen Churchmen to apply the new method, as far as possible, to the needs of the Church of England. Dr. Mansbridge, Dr. Temple, Mr. Tawney, and Bishop Gore are not likely to be content with anything short of the best obtainable.

The Church Tutorial Class movement is one of the outstanding special experiments to which we have referred. It

[1] *Vide* pp. 328 ff. *infra*. The number of classes during the winter 1923-24 was thirteen. Of these, three were in their fourth year, three in their third, two in their second, and four in their first, while one was experimental. There were also three "Tutors' Courses." Ten of the sixteen groups took the Old Testament, two the New, one the Jewish Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Books, one The Idea of God, one The Life of Christ, and one The Primitive Church.

[2] All tutors of Church Tutorial Classes are required to be members of the Church of England.

has chosen one great Church as its field, and there is every prospect now of its accomplishing much in due time. There are no doubt strong reasons for the limitations that it has imposed upon itself, though, as we shall show later, there appear to be even stronger ones for the removal of such restrictions.[1]

The other particularly notable experiment is on a much smaller scale and has a more concentrated purpose. It looks, for the present at any rate, no further than the confines of the individual church in which, since 1919, it has been very successfully carried on, though the membership of its classes is open to anyone who cares to join, and has in fact been drawn from all over London. The King's Weigh House Classes,[2] however, were intended primarily for the building up of the intellectual and spiritual life of the people in that particular congregation. The course is a three-year one, but each year is given to a different subject, and though these subjects form a logical progression in study, it is not possible in the one winter given to each to carry the work beyond that degree of thoroughness usually associated with ordinary one-year classes. It is an admirable feature of the scheme that students should be trained to teach others by completing the ordinary course and submitting themselves to a special test, but, whatever their other qualifications may be, they can scarcely be placed in the same category as tutors who have taken an honours course at a university in the subject which they subsequently teach. None the less this experiment has its own value, as showing what can be done under sound guidance within the limits of a single congregation. Apart from the manifest gain to the King's Weigh House Church itself, the classes might well prove the starting-point of an important movement if other churches were stimulated by the success which these have achieved to similar educational efforts.

The Vacation "Term" for Biblical Study [3] belongs, like many of the three-year Church Tutorial Classes, to the

[1] Cf. pp. 139 f. *infra*.

[2] *Vide* pp. 342 ff. *infra*.

[3] *Vide* pp. 231 ff. *infra*.

" university " grade of adult education, but is comparable chiefly to W.E.A. Summer Schools, attended by tutorial class students who wish to do concentrated and advanced work for a fortnight or more under highly qualified lecturers and tutors. The " term," that is to say, serves as the culmination of previous study and the starting-point for further progress. It is certainly not less exacting in its demands than the more intensive part of the " Summer Meetings " arranged by the University Extension authorities at Oxford and Cambridge. It attracts people—mainly, of course, secondary teachers—who take the work seriously for its own sake, and also desire to be better equipped for teaching the Bible to others. For over twenty years the " term " has been held annually. The " Bible Study Week for Teachers," [1] which sprang out of the Vacation Term and provides a less advanced course, must be considered as " secondary " in type, though it is no less thorough, and is equally well-related to previous and subsequent study. The first was held in 1911.

The course for the Archbishop's Diploma in Theology for Women [2] is definitely on the lines of an honours course at a university, and requires an amount of work beyond the power of any but those who are either giving the whole of their time to preparation for professional work in schools or in the Church itself, or else have leisure and means sufficient to permit of their devoting themselves entirely, first to this preparation and subsequently to voluntary service. It falls within the sphere of adult non-vocational education, however, so far as many of the students who take it are concerned, and it has a specially important bearing on the provision of tutors for Church classes, as we shall see when we come to the discussion of that problem.[3] The same may be said, with modifications, of the experiment made by the Board to promote Religious Training for Social Workers, which began with special courses of lectures given locally, but now arranges for intra-mural courses at theological colleges. Perhaps even more interesting from our point of view is the

[1] *Vide* pp. 234 ff. *infra.* [2] *Vide* pp. 239 f. *infra.* [3] Cf. pp. 176, 337 *infra.*

subsequent experience of the tutor [1] among ordinary adult students. The Saturday morning Greek Testament Class at King's College, London,[2] is an individual experiment which has similar value with regard to the study of that one subject.

Residential colleges for adults are the apex of the movement in the Churches as in the movement outside them. The two colleges that have been founded by Churches are Woodbrooke, Selly Oak,[3] and the Roman Catholic College for Working Men at Oxford.[4] Each is associated with a university.

The Catholic Workers' College is the outcome of the enthusiasm and the efforts of the late Father Plater.[5] It is remarkable in several ways. The students are maintained almost entirely by the Social Study Clubs affiliated to the Catholic Social Guild, the Executive Committee of which is the governing body of the College. The curriculum is one calculated to meet the needs of men likely to occupy positions of leadership in Trade Unions, municipal life, and the various organisations in their own Church. For the lectures and tutorial assistance required by the students, recourse is had to the professors and lecturers in the University and its Colleges, the students attending the ordinary courses, and the lecturers and tutors being chosen without regard to whether they are Roman Catholics or not. Only the courses in dogmatic theology and apologetics are reserved for lecturers who are priests of the Church. This is a contrast with Ruskin College, where most of the lectures are given by members of the College staff, and an advance upon what would have been possible a generation ago, when the Hierarchy would have demanded that all the teaching

[1] Cf. p. 238 *infra*. [2] *Vide* pp. 349 f. *infra*. [3] *Vide* pp. 251 ff. *infra*.

[4] *Vide* pp. 277 ff. *infra*. Fircroft, Bournville, and the Beckenham College were not founded by Churches. *Vide* pp. 394 ff. *infra*.

[5] Cf. *Charles Dominic Plater, S.J.*, by C. C. Martindale, S.J., M.A. (1922), a biography which becomes at times almost a diary of Father Plater's constant activities in the promotion of the Catholic Social Study Clubs, and in which the development of the College plan is traced.

should be done by Roman Catholics. The present arrangement is not adopted as a temporary expedient necessitated by lack of funds to maintain Roman Catholic tutors, but as a deliberate policy. The course lasts for at least a year,[1] and students go back to their former occupations to spread among their fellows the influence of the education that they have received. The College was founded in 1921 with only three students and a resident tutor, but it now has eight students (including two women) and the enthusiasm that augurs substantial development is rapidly growing.

Woodbrooke was founded in 1903 primarily as a place of retreat and study for members of the Society of Friends, and for leaders in the work of the Adult School Movement.[2] It is now a college for any who are, or desire to be, engaged in religious, social, or educational work. It has adopted the description "Settlement," rather than that of residential College, because it welcomes students for a single term or even a shorter period if they are unable to stay for more. The difficulty is to find many students who can afford to spend more than a term at the Settlement. Those who stay longer are chiefly younger people who desire to qualify for the Cambridge University Certificate in Teaching (a one-year course) or the Birmingham University Diploma in Social Science (a two-year course), and must comply with the University regulations governing their work.

The residential colleges for the training of Sunday School teachers are, of course, non-vocational, since there are practically no paid professional Sunday School workers in this country. They are in a category by themselves which it is difficult to describe as either "university" or

[1] "The first year's course provides training in Ethics and Economics, by chosen lecturers, and essays written for tutors. Time is also given to Church and Economic History and Apologetics. Students who are granted a second year usually prepare for the University Diploma in Economics and Political Science. Opportunities are taken to give an insight into the working of the Catholic Social Guild and other Catholic Societies." College *Prospectus*.

[2] Cf. the chapter on "Woodbrooke," A. G. Gardiner, *Life of George Cadbury* (1923), pp. 196-209.

" secondary." Probably they would consider any attempt to apply such standards to their work as entirely misleading, for their aim is largely technical in the same sense as that of the ordinary training college for teachers. Even that description may have an unfortunate implication if it suggests anything of the atmosphere from which technical colleges and university departments of technology are struggling to free themselves—the atmosphere of equipment for gain rather than training for service ; moreover, these same ordinary training colleges for teachers vary widely in quality and outlook, but, under present conditions, the best of them (with the exception of those which are post-graduate) are let and hindered from the pursuit of the ideals they would otherwise cherish by compulsion to attempt to do two things at once, and by the resultant overcrowding of curriculum. Westhill College, Selly Oak [1] (founded in 1907), and St. Christopher's College, Blackheath [2] (founded in 1909), seek to give Sunday School teachers the best technical training possible, and at the same time to help them to perceive more clearly than ever those spiritual values, in the subjects they are to teach and in the lives of their scholars, the acceptance of which for themselves has already inspired them to seek further knowledge.

From this it will be seen that the work on the " university " level is, with the exception of the Education and Social Science courses at Woodbrooke, and the various courses at the Catholic Workers' College, strictly confined to Biblical and Theological studies, and does not include the other two main groups—Christian Social Ethics [3] and Foreign Missions, with all that we saw to be involved in the study of them [4]—with which the adult education movement in the Churches

[1] Cf. pp. 287 ff. *infra.*

[2] Cf. pp. 292 f. *infra.*

[3] A certain amount of work on this subject is, of course, done at Woodbrooke and the Catholic Workers' College.

[4] Cf. Vol. I., pp. 141-143. The Selly Oak Colleges include three (S.P.G., Friends', and Baptist-Presbyterian-Congregationalist) for the training of missionaries, but do not provide courses in Missions for the general student.

is concerned. It will also be observed that a very considerable part of this work is possible only to those who are in circumstances abnormal among adult students, since few ordinary people in any walk of life have leisure and means for whole-time study, whether at home or in a college of any sort.

The great mass of the systematic educational work carried on among adults by the Churches is of a "secondary" character. It consists chiefly of short courses, study groups, week-end lecture schools, and summer schools. There are no data for numerical comparison with the one-year class or study-group work organised by the W.E.A. or the N.C.L.C. The total extent of the work in this grade is certainly not less than that carried on by adult educational bodies not directly connected with the Churches. It may indeed be considerably more, because the study-circle movements organised by the Foreign Missionary Societies and the various Church societies for social service contribute largely to it.[1]

Of individual Churches the Roman Catholic, with its Catholic Social Guild (founded in 1909) and the Study Clubs promoted by the Guild, is able to present the best record of systematic effort.[2] The membership of these Clubs is recruited largely from among working men, especially through the Catholic Young Men's Society, and the subjects taken up are very diverse, though all deal with one or other of the chief phases of social life. The textbooks are all written by Roman Catholics; one or two among them have won recognition as the best short handbooks on their respective topics from the Christian standpoint at present available. The importance of this is that the Clubs are in many cases dependent upon the textbooks, since the Roman Catholic

[1] Work organised by the Student Christian Movement in the Colleges has been the creative force to which much of this activity in the Churches is due, but S.C.M. work cannot properly be included under adult education, as usually understood, and is therefore left out of account in our survey.

[2] *Vide* pp. 271 ff. *infra.*

Church is no more fortunate than others with regard to its power to provide tutors. It must be admitted that there is a tinge of Church propaganda and a marked anti-socialist bias in the movement, but it is at least as " candid " as the Plebs League, and considerably more " impartial." [1] On the other hand, when students are ready for more advanced work they are encouraged to join ordinary W.E.A. one-year classes or university tutorial classes, instead of being formed into one or three-year classes organised by the Church itself.

The Society of Friends [2] has a strong educational tradition, and its resultant work among adults has been carried on during the present century chiefly through the agency of special committees such as the Woodbrooke Extension Committee and the " Yorkshire 1905 " Committee, and of the Young Friends' movement, but it has recently established a Central Education Committee which co-ordinates the various educational activities among adults and relates these to the other educational work of the Society among children and adolescents. Study-circles, week-end and summer lecture-schools, and, during the last year or so, the conduct of short intensive evening courses on tutorial class lines by a specially appointed staff-tutor, have been the main items in the programme. More varied and continuous local work has been started by Committees like the " Yorkshire 1905," which initiated the Educational Settlements at Leeds and Scarborough, or by local groups of Friends such as those

[1] Cardinal Bourne in 1912 " warned his audience against dismissing as ' socialism ' all proposals for social reform, and equally against using, for such reform, principles that no Catholic should admit. Meanwhile he stressed the duty of all Catholics to lend their instructed aid, throughout the country, in every party to which Catholics can legitimately belong." C. C. Martindale, *op. cit.* p. 275. Cf. also pp. 282-4, 296. Father Martindale quotes a letter received by Father Plater from a Study-club member, who says : " Our Study Clubs have trained men to ask questions that scarcely a Catholic in the United Kingdom can answer, and none of the books give the answers. . . . The need of higher study is extreme." *Ibid.* p. 303. Cf. also pp. 305-6.

[2] *Vide* pp. 444 ff. *infra.*

who played a prominent part in starting the Letchworth Educational Settlement, the St. Mary's Settlement at York, and the work now being done in Wensleydale by Mr. Theodore Grubb. Friends' Missions are being transformed into centres of diversified educational effort, as at Walthamstow and Plymouth. It is characteristic of Friends that they maintain a wide range of interests in their educational work as in all other aspects of their Society's life, and the subjects chosen for study by these various means are as frequently social or international as they are Biblical or theological.

From time to time other Churches have made an effort, by propaganda and organisation from their headquarters, to stimulate systematic study on the part of their members.[1] The impulse has usually come from their Social Service departments. But even there it has been very fluctuating, and the response has been meagre. The Congregational and Baptist Unions, the Wesleyan and United Methodist Churches, and the Presbyterian Church of England have had their periods of energy in this respect, while in the Church of England specific societies such as the Christian Social Union (now merged in the Industrial Christian Fellowship) and the Church Socialist League have made attempts, with passing success, to develop educational work among adults. At present, however, the amount of activity discoverable is negligible. The remarkable fact is that at no time does any of these Churches appear to have made any official move to develop the systematic education of adults in the Bible, in Theology, in Church History, in the application of Christian ethics to social life, or in any other subject that might naturally be regarded as of supreme importance to the life of the Church itself. Even the unofficial movements like the Church Tutorial Classes, the King's Weigh-House Classes, or the work of the Quaker Committees have, as we have already seen, been few and small. A notable attempt to promote consistent study of these subjects throughout the whole of a Church is that of the Central Church Reading Union [2] in the Church of England, but this

[1] *Vide* pp. 264 ff. *infra.*

[2] *Vide* pp. 227 ff. *infra.*

is primarily for the guidance of individuals in their choice and pursuit of reading ; only incidentally has it given rise to discussion groups or courses of lectures ; at the present time it would seem, in many dioceses, to be in a state of suspended animation.

To the Missionary Societies belongs the credit of making the most sustained and far-reaching endeavour to promote adult education among the members of the Churches.[1] The possibilities latent in the relationship of propaganda to education become as clear in this case as in that of the N.C.L.C., though the mischief of confusing education with propaganda has been recognised and to a great extent avoided by the promoters of Mission study. Enthusiasm for a cause has created desire for the education which would enable the enthusiasts to understand more clearly the issues involved in that cause. The chief missionary societies are more compactly organised than most of the Churches with which they are connected. Perceiving the importance of education in relation to their task they have made special provision for it, appointing well qualified officers to their staffs for the purpose of organising study-groups, training leaders, and preparing the necessary literature. Above all they have co-operated in the production of text-books, written by the most eminent authorities available and edited in such a manner as to render them thoroughly sound from the point of view of educational technique. This led to constant co-operation in the discussion of educational method. The number of study-circles, local training schools for short periods, and summer schools that have resulted has not been recorded, but it is extraordinarily large, as the numbers of graded text-books issued by the United Council for Missionary Education (founded in 1907) indicates—even presuming that 25 per cent. of these books (a generous allowance) have been bought for private reading and not by members of study-groups.[2] It is a great pity that their work has not been carried to a higher grade of thoroughness and continuity. Much of it is of the "primary" type, much

[1] *Vide* pp. 259 ff. *infra.*

[2] Cf. p. 257 *infra.*

of the "secondary": the proportions are of course influenced greatly by the previous general education of the members in a group, for groups have been drawn from all classes of the community, though it has been found wise educationally not to bring together in one group people between whom there is a very wide disparity in previous knowledge and intellectual training. Practically none of the groups, however, have had the continuity even of an ordinary one-year class, though many of the subjects studied permit of a full three-year course, and indeed demand it if they are taken with due seriousness.

It has been repeatedly suggested that the United Council should issue similar text-books on the study of the Bible and of social questions, which are the proper complement to the study of foreign missionary matters, but this has been inadvisable, partly because the Churches have at present devised no effective organisation for stimulating the demand and recruiting students, but perhaps more because of divergences between the supporters of the various Missionary Societies on the interpretation of the Bible, theologically and socially. One or two attempts to create parallel councils for these other specific lines of study have failed, but, curiously enough, more by reason of the first of the difficulties just mentioned than through fear of the second.

Some of the Fellowships which have sprung up within the Churches during the last ten years, and to a still greater extent those which have an inter-Church basis, have done much to stimulate study and research among their members.[1] The outstanding instance, of course, is the Interdenominational Conference of Social Service Unions [2] (first held in 1912), out of which the idea of organising the great Conference on Christian Politics, Economics, and Citizenship, held in Birmingham in 1924, may be said to have sprung.[3] The preparation of the twelve Reports for the Birmingham Conference, all of which are substantial volumes, led to the

[1] *Vide* pp. 297 ff. *infra.*

[2] *Vide* pp. 281 ff. *infra.*

[3] *Vide* p. 282 *infra.*

formation during the preceding two years of many groups for study of the preliminary *questionnaires*, and involved the appointment of strong Commissions to collect and digest evidence, state facts and principles, and formulate recommendations. Though no forecast of the practical results likely to issue from the Conference is yet possible, there can be no doubt that this and the Regional Conferences which have followed it will strengthen the demand for more thorough study of society as it is and of the Christian ethic in application to it. Probably the Reports themselves will be used as introductory text-books by a great many groups which will ultimately go much further.

Turning now to the work which, from an educational standpoint, is unsystematised, we find that in some form or another it exists in almost every church and is almost wholly "primary" in character. To use such terms as "unsystematised" and "primary" in conjunction may seem contradictory. But of course it is necessary to give them a somewhat arbitrary significance in the present connection. By unsystematised we mean here that the same group of people may meet quite regularly and continuously, but that they turn from topic to topic in rapid succession, rarely giving more than a single meeting to the consideration of any one, while also, as a rule, these topics either have no particular connection with one another, or else are very loosely related to a general subject pursued for perhaps a dozen meetings or fewer. By primary, again, we do not here indicate the thorough grounding in first principles that a child is supposed to receive at a primary school, but rather a state of being perpetually at the beginning of things, a succession of brief and often sketchy introductions to subjects or themes which are rarely pursued further.

As we shall see later, the Sunday Bible Class offered an opportunity of systematic and continuous teaching, given to young people and adults.[1] In the hands of a competent leader it was capable of valuable educational use. There are still clergy, ministers, and lay workers who believe

[1] Cf. pp. 220 ff. *infrà*.

strongly in it, and, where the Bible is dealt with in the light of modern scholarship as well as of its moral and spiritual application to everyday human life, it can be made not only highly educational in the fullest sense, but powerfully attractive. Unfortunately the Bible Class has for the most part not been developed and transformed in accordance with the progress of knowledge and thought, but given up. The grading of Sunday Schools, though it has made rapid headway (particularly, if not mainly, among the Free Churches) during the last ten years, has still taken place in far too few churches. Where it has been done thoroughly, attendance at preparation classes is obligatory upon young teachers, and where the preparation classes are properly handled a continuous process of education which certainly reaches the "secondary" standard is carried on, the Bible, Nature Study, Child-Psychology, and other subjects being systematically studied. But there is evidence of considerable slackness with respect to training-classes in a number of graded schools, and this obviously destroys to a great degree the educational value of the system for younger teachers.

Normally, however, the Bible Class for younger people has become a Guild,[1] where miscellaneous subjects are introduced by the leader, visiting speakers, or members. This may be a useful stimulus to the minds of the young people, especially where they themselves do most of the "introducing," and where effective discussion is possible. But it tends to superficiality and fragmentariness, for few members follow a topic further in their private reading and few Guilds have any study-groups attached to them. This is equally true of most Guilds held during the week. Even when good discussions are the rule, the jump from one subject to another week by week is fatal to anything like mental discipline, thoroughness of knowledge, or depth of insight. A few Guilds, whether on Sunday or in the week, do more serious and consecutive work, but these are overwhelmingly counterbalanced by the number of week-night Guilds which make amusement the main feature of their programmes, even the

[1] *Vide* pp. 301 f. *infra.*

occasional lecture or debate being more of an entertainment than anything else.

As for the older men and women, especially of the working classes, who formerly attended Sunday afternoon Bible Classes, these are now to be found usually at P.S.A.'s, Brotherhoods, Men's Sunday Afternoon Conferences, and the like.[1] The total number thus gathered together may be much greater than the Bible Classes used to attract. But again, in almost every case the programme is neither consecutive nor, in any real sense, educative. With religious topics are mingled social and semi-political ones. Often the addresses are good, and the large Brotherhoods and Conferences secure star speakers of great prominence in public life. A very few of these organisations do useful educational work, but the majority sacrifice everything to what is esteemed "popular." In effect they are the equivalent, in terms of the spoken word, of that remarkable product of modern journalism, the American Sunday newspaper. Again, a very few carry on classes, study-groups, and so forth during the week, as will be seen from our survey, but these are greatly in the minority and their educational efforts touch only a small number among their members.

Lest this should appear an unwarrantably harsh and sweeping judgment—and, worse still, a prejudiced condemnation of valuable movements for not accomplishing what they are not meant to attempt—let it be said at once that our business here is not to estimate their importance from any but an educational point of view. At the same time it may be observed that a very great educational opportunity, by seizing which they would in no degree weaken their influence in other directions, is being missed. Further, the example of "secular" organisations which desire to win and hold working-men for definite objects shows that education in their view is an indispensable part of their programme. And certainly, if what has been said in the first volume of this book is true, no religious movement is likely to have a powerful and abiding effect if it fails to

[1] *Vide* pp. 295 ff. *infra.*

educate as well as to inspire. If it does not itself undertake educational work it should at least direct its members to other movements which do. The C.E.M.S., while in other respects similar to the Brotherhood and Men's Conference movements, endeavours to induce its members to join educational organisations, particularly the W.E.A., and to this extent recognises in practice the importance of adult education. The Catholic Young Men's Society encourages its members to join the Catholic Social Guild,[1] which again promotes study clubs, and many branches of the Society arrange occasional lectures and study-circles, though social activities and open-air sports have a very prominent place in their programmes.

One other movement should be noticed in this connection —the Industrial Christian Fellowship.[2] Its aim is mainly to arouse a Christian social conscience, and it is in its nature a crusade or mission rather than an educational and constructive movement. At the same time it recognises that its efforts will fail of effect in the end unless men and women give themselves to the study of facts and principles in order that they may plan and build a new social order. It therefore encourages the formation of study-groups wherever possible, though in this it is hampered by the difficulty of finding leaders, and it definitely seeks to co-operate with the W.E.A., the Adult Schools, and similar movements by getting its adherents to join their classes.

Literary and debating societies[3] were perhaps more numerous among the Churches (especially the Free Churches) during the last century than they are now. The rise of adult education, in its many forms, has robbed them of their old position as in many cases the chief, and in some the sole, centre of intellectual life accessible to the members of the churches that promoted them. To-day they are generally valuable either as encouraging self-expression on the part of their own members, or as bringing to their respective localities a number of distinguished popular lecturers. In

[1] *Vide* pp. 271 ff. *infra.* [2] *Vide* pp. 269 f. *infra.*

[3] *Vide* pp. 301 ff. *infra.*

a few cases there is an effort towards continuity of subject ; in a very few arrangements have been made for a university extension lecturer to deliver a short course of lectures.[1] Usually, however, the programme is of the completely miscellaneous variety.

One important development in recent years has been the larger place given to music and drama among Church activities.[2] As in other connections, the concerts and the plays may be of a purely banal or frivolous order, mere entertainments with even less educational value than a whist-drive or a dance might conceivably possess. But, also as in other connections, it has been perceived by some that when people make their own music and perform plays for themselves, they will, if given a little wise guidance, develop sound taste and draw from their singing, playing, or acting a very real enrichment of mind and spirit, an education which is social as well as personal.

Since the War the thought and experience of leaders in the adult education movement at large has been directed increasingly towards activities of the " primary " type. There was a time when these were dismissed rather contemptuously as " playing at education." They were considered practically valueless, whether in themselves or as introductory to more serious and advanced education. That day is rapidly passing. It is becoming recognised that the proportion among the adult population ever likely to desire, or even to be able to attempt, to participate in leisure time education " of university standard " will inevitably remain comparatively small. This is true even if a literally immense increase in the number of advanced students—an increase which could and should be secured—took place. It is consequently mere pedantry and lack of true humanism, as well as of common sense and educational insight, to neglect or contemn the great majority of our people who will find their education, if they can be induced to seek it, by simpler means. This must not be forgotten in considering the educational activities of the Churches among adults. We

[1] Cf. pp. 316, 322, 411, 420 *infra.*

[2] *Vide* p. 302 *infra.*

must remember both the actual and the potential value of natural and simple ways by which men and women cultivate the sense of the Good, the Beautiful and the True.

Any examination of the facts such as has been attempted in our survey must lead to criticisms and conclusions which may be summed up in the familiar phrase, " So much to do. So little done." If, however, we now proceed to state some reasons for the failure of the Churches to accomplish more, this is not necessarily to indulge in mere destructive criticism. It is in the light of what they actually have done and of the resources and possibilities which they clearly possess, of their own ideals, and of comparison with what other organisations have revealed as to the readiness of men and women to-day to utilise all the available opportunities of acquiring further education, that mistakes and weaknesses stand out so clearly. We shall come to constructive suggestions in due course, but it is necessary first to analyse the existing situation.

It may be said that our account of what is actually being done at the present time is inadequate, and that we have not given the Churches sufficient credit for the eagerness to develop their educational work that they really feel. It may also be thought that we have failed to give due considerations to the many difficulties and obstacles that they have to face in their attempts to give expression to their convictions on the matter. To this it may fairly be answered that every effort has been made to assemble as complete a collection of detailed facts as possible. The resultant fact that when assembled they are comparatively so few, and that the work they represent is undeniably so spasmodic and patchy, shows at least that the Churches have not a well-thought-out policy, or anything approaching a concerted plan of education. While it might be both unfair and fallacious to attempt quantitative judgments on the basis of what may be incomplete material, a sufficiently representative sample is before us to justify some attempt to estimate the quality and general trend of the educational work of the Churches. We are on grounds that are all the more to be considered firm

in this respect when it is remembered that the best pieces of work are generally easiest to get at, since they are most compact and, being most progressive and most fruitful in results and in inspiration to other people, are usually most widely known. If there is any considerable body of work about which information has not been forthcoming, we may with some confidence assume that this is chiefly of the more superficial and scrappy kind. Just because it is so slightly organised and so lacking in real weight and importance, the task of ascertaining the facts about it proves so difficult as to be practically impossible. If we may take an analogy from other fields of adult education, the figures and other information regarding university tutorial classes or University Extension lectures can be obtained with almost complete accuracy. To ascertain full details with regard to short lecture courses, study circles, series of miscellaneous lectures, and so forth, organised by Local Education Authorities or by Clubs and Institutes of one sort or another, amounts to an impossibility. But that is no reason for denying the existence and value of these activities. An approximate estimate of their extent can be made, and sufficient characteristic examples of them can be examined, to enable the investigator to estimate their general value and the degree to which they afford an effective introduction to the more serious types of work upon the development of which the progress of adult education must so largely depend. In education the goal is all-important.

Literary Societies, Guilds, and similar activities in the churches undoubtedly do represent a recognition of the place of intellectual life. But from the educational point of view they are for the most part wasted opportunities, since they so often have (actually, but not necessarily) no clear and sustained educational purpose either in or beyond themselves. They cater on the whole much more for mildly intellectual amusement than for educational enrichment. Their programmes are generally dissipating, and even where really stimulating and important subjects are treated it is generally the case that only one lecture is devoted to each,

that there is no connection between the subject of one lecture and that of the next, and that there is no attempt to gather together groups of those who have found any particular lecture provocative of special thought, so that they might pursue the matter in study-groups or reading circles.

To come, however, to the main criticisms suggested by the facts as we have them, the first would seem to be that the Church has made the mistake of concentrating upon the children and young people of adolescent age to the exclusion of the needs and claims of the adults. Perhaps it would be fairer to regard this as a matter of incomplete or arrested development rather than of blindness or error. After all, the growth of adult education outside the Church did not begin to attract national attention or to win widespread sympathy and support until a generation or two after the cause of elementary education had been fairly established. Recent developments in the organisation and methods of Sunday School work are proving a very real factor in awakening the Churches to the necessity of putting within the reach of their Sunday School teachers not only facilities for training in Child-Psychology, Methods of Teaching, Nature Study and Bible Study, but also opportunities of acquiring that general enlargement of knowledge and enhancement of personality which alone will make them adequate to their task.[1] Moreover, the problem that is confronting the Churches is also perplexing those responsible for primary and secondary education outside them. The home and the school have an intimate relationship to the education of the child. Presuming that teachers are adequately trained and

[1] Thus the Canterbury Provincial Sunday School Council, at its 1923 Conference, representing twenty-three dioceses, adopted an Annual Report urging the provision of further facilities for the training of Sunday School teachers, especially through such a residential centre as St. Christopher's College, Blackheath. The Report remarks that "the best of young people are unwilling to undertake any work for which they have received no training, and thus there is a deficiency in the numbers of good teachers, and in fact a number of good potential teachers are lost." *Times Educational Supplement*, October 20, 1923.

are enabled to remain lifelong students, fatal conflicts are set up in the mind of the child if what he is told at school as obvious truth is denied at home as reprehensible error or palpable nonsense. He is perplexed if he finds his parents ignorant of, or without interest in, things which he is learning from his teachers to regard as fascinating and supremely important. More subtle still is the difficulty created when the spirit of the school and the spirit of the home are at variance. The vital importance of continuing the education of parents concurrently with that of their children becomes startlingly evident directly these practical situations are considered.

The concern felt by leaders in the Churches with regard to this problem is manifest by the publication within the last six years of no fewer than five Reports of special Commissions, each of which has devoted some two years to its task, and each of which has laid emphasis upon the necessity that the Churches should promote the education of their adult members.[1] But such Reports, however impressive,

[1] The Archbishops' Committee Report on *The Teaching Office of the Church* (1918), the Congregational Union Commission Report on *The Church as a School of Christian Education* (1922), the National Sunday School Union Commission Report on *The Senior Department* (1923), the Friends' Central Committee Report on *Can Religion be Taught?* (1923), the Copec Commission Report on *Education* (1924). Dr. A. A. David, Bishop of Liverpool, in a message to diocesan clergy shortly after the consecration of the Cathedral, says: "I have hopes of the spiritual and intellectual movement which you are helping to centre in the Cathedral. I have very much in mind our own need for thought and study. There is a great danger before us. It is that the Church may not realise its share in the advance of education. I believe that there is a desire in all classes for new seekings of the truth. It is one of the most hopeful features of the time. We are commissioned to be leaders of spiritual life, but we cannot fulfil our charge if we lead our people's devotions and not their thinking too." He states that he is imposing co-operative study as an obligation on all whom he ordains, and goes on: "We of the Cathedral have an ambition to contribute to the religious studies of the laity. Our national ignorance in religious matters is profound and appalling." He shows how parents have transferred the responsibility to teachers, but how in schools—primary and secondary

are apt to produce no practical effect unless the communities to which they are addressed already have, or proceed to create, effective means of taking definite action. The Reports to which we have referred have no doubt set the keener people in the Churches thinking; they have a cumulative force. But the fact remains that the question of adult education has not yet presented itself to the majority of people in the average church, and that the idea of education in their minds is still exclusively connected with the education of children. There has been a failure in the Churches, even more markedly than outside them, to appreciate the truth that education is a lifelong process, and to make that provision for it in the organisation and life of the Churches which would correspond to the conception of education in the State embodied by Mr. Fisher in the Education Act of 1918.

Where any thought has been given to the subject at all, the resultant effort has too frequently been vitiated, or the idea of any practical scheme has been entirely abandoned, by reason of faulty observation or bad psychology. It has been supposed that the younger people in view have no interest in serious education, and will be lost to the Churches unless their presumed absorption in purely recreative pursuits during their leisure time is pandered to, or it has been imagined that they are already receiving through other channels as much serious stimulus and equipment as they can be expected to tolerate or take in. The older people have been supposed either to be beyond what the Churches can give, or (more frequently) to be preoccupied either with the affairs of home and business, or with intellectual interests and problems of thought with which the Churches have little or nothing directly to do. In fact, the younger people have been put down as demanding nothing but amusement,

—and in universities the task is not being fulfilled. "The result is that the adults of this generation have heavy arrears to make up, and they are becoming aware of it. We are hoping to provide lectures and classes, which we trust will both meet and stimulate a growing appetite for religious enlightenment." *The Times*, Sept. 11, 1924.

in one guise or another, while the older people have been regarded as interested only in the "secular" aspects of economics and politics, science and philosophy, if they have time or inclination for reading and discussion at all.

The success of experiments based upon the contrary assumptions in churches that have made the venture should suffice to disprove these fallacies, few though these experiments may have been. Comparison with the experience of Educational Settlements, Adult Schools, and young people's clubs of various kinds will afford further evidence in the same direction. The records of the W.E.A. and the personal contact of tutors with their students have demonstrated not only the wide range and seriousness of adult interests, but the spiritual motive for study that prevails. In both the case of the younger and that of the older people the Churches appear not to have perceived the genuineness and extent of the prevailing desire for knowledge of what the Churches have it specially in their charge to teach—the Bible and its implications, Theology, Church History, the Psychology of Christian Experience, and all the other subjects discussed at an earlier stage of this enquiry. The disappointing lack of response to some optimistic efforts to attract ordinary people to such studies has often been the result of presenting these subjects from the wrong angle, as theoretical rather than practical, mediæval rather than modern, and it has been made worse by failure to perceive the close relation between these topics and those in which people, especially older people, are ready to admit and manifest their interest. It is a question of the way of approach to the subject, as well as one of understanding the psychology of the student. Some reference to the principles upon which the approach may need to be determined has already been made in our discussion of aims and motives in adult education and of what the quest for spiritual values involves.[1]

Reliance on preaching and the didactic method has proved a considerable hindrance to the development of educational work as generally understood. Provision for the needs of

[1] Cf. Vol. I. Cc. II.-IV.

the adult membership of the Churches has on the whole been left to the clergy and ministers, who have tried to make the sermon the vehicle of instruction as well as of inspiration. In many cases they have preached regular series or courses of sermons on specified subjects. Undoubtedly they are right in believing that preaching should be educational as well as edificatory. But the form of the sermon and the circumstances under which it is delivered render it unsuitable for the purpose of systematic education. Directly it becomes a lecture it is no longer a true sermon, while on the other hand the preacher must not make it so thorough and detailed a treatment of his subject, so carefully balanced a statement of pros and cons, or so broad and dispassionate a survey, as to make it a good lecture. The chief defect from the purely educational point of view, however, is that the sermon involves almost necessarily, whether consciously or otherwise, an insistence on authority. There is not in it that full and unfettered co-operation between teacher and students which adult education demands. Naturally there must be deep sympathy between the preacher and his hearers if his message is to find its intended response in them. Undoubtedly he seeks to call forth their powers of independent thought, to stimulate their imaginations, and to influence their wills. But by no stretch of imagination can this be considered the exact equivalent (even when opportunities for question and discussion after the service are provided) of that experience which Dr. Albert Mansbridge describes as normative in the case of the University Tutorial class and characteristic of all true adult education. "A tutorial class, it was said, consisted of thirty-one teachers and thirty-one students." [1] Indeed, one of the reasons why the Church has not developed adult education as she might have done is that so many of her pastors and teachers have not understood the desire of the adult student to be guided and helped in his quest by somebody whose knowledge and experience are wider than his own, but emphatically to do the work for himself. It is curious that while in the new

[1] *An Adventure in Working-Class Education*, p. 41.

Sunday School methods so much emphasis has been placed on "expression work" on the part of the children, the corresponding factor in the case of adults has been so completely overlooked by those who have endeavoured to educate them by means of sermons or very didactic Bible classes.

Undoubtedly the ministry of all Churches has been very heavily overburdened. Teaching, in the sense of real tutorial work with small groups of people who want to make the most of their chances, is an extremely exacting employment. It requires time for wide and hard reading, as well as for careful preparation of lectures. The actual conduct of a meeting of the class, with half the time given to the tutor's lecture and half to close questioning and thorough discussion, makes heavy demands upon the teacher's nervous energy. It is inevitably followed by a good deal of work in the form of discussing essays with their writers, or in that of personal help with regard to individual interests or difficulties. The average clergyman or minister is expected to be a man-of-all-work in his parish or congregation, and in addition to preach good sermons two or three times a week, to say nothing of incidental addresses, lectures and speeches. The reaction upon the parson of this attitude on the part of church-members has often been productive of the acceptance of their point of view by the parson himself. One such, an extremely devoted, enterprising, and hardworking member of his fraternity, when recently asked whether a tutorial class might not be possible in his congregation, at once replied, "But I simply dare not take on anything else. I am occupied every night in the week already." But even if he is not overwhelmed in this way, his worst handicap is that, unless he happens previously to have been a schoolmaster, he has generally received no training whatever for the teaching side of his ministry. He is more or less taught the technique of preaching. Nowadays he is probably given some insight into the practical bearings of psychology. He is expected himself to have learned how to learn. He may have all the aptitude for the work of a teacher. But, with exceptions so few as to be negligible, those responsible for

his professional training have not thought it necessary for him to know how to set about the actual task. Even in those cases where he is now enabled to learn something at college about the principles and methods of Sunday School work, he is not put in the way of appreciating the likenesses and differences between this and adult education. And naturally the very qualities that fit him to be a preacher, a pastor, or an administrator are frequently those that unfit him for being a teacher.

If it has demanded too much of the ministry, the Church has not asked enough of its qualified laity in the matter of adult education. To this we shall return in discussing constructive suggestions, but meantime we note the fact that the Church has hardly realised its resources in this direction.

There is undoubtedly still a certain amount of the worship of numbers in many churches. Anything that limits a meeting to twenty or thirty people is regarded as dull, wasteful, and even dangerous. Enthusiasm and "a social atmosphere" are supposed to be more easily generated in larger assemblies, a good teacher is thought to be wasted upon twenty when he could be talking to two hundred, the labour of organising ten small groups instead of one big one is considered superfluous, and there is a fear lest the multiplication of small groups should foster clique-ishness. Then, too, those responsible for the general organisation of a church often feel that it is wrong to spend their energies upon catering for the few when they should be considering what will appeal to the many.

It is unnecessary to say that such a condition of things is far from being universal. There are many churches where not one of these considerations would be given predominance for a single moment. It is equally unnecessary to set forth the obvious answers to any of them. All that has been said on previous pages concerning the basis and methods of adult education and the function of the Churches with regard to it would have to be assumed in such replies, and until these facts and principles are understood and admitted by those

who raise the difficulties, little can be said that would convince them.

There is one point not to be overlooked, however. Again and again lack of co-operation has proved fatal to the prospects of adult education as an activity of the churches. Once more, " the exceptions prove the rule." Often no one church or congregation has either sufficient keen people to form into classes and study-groups, or the required number of suitable teachers. But two or three congregations in the same locality could in almost every case ensure successful efforts by pooling their resources. And still more is left undone for lack of co-operation between the churches and educational associations such as the W.E.A., the Adult Schools, the Educational Settlements, or the extra-mural departments of the Universities and University Colleges. The positive aspect of this matter we shall consider in due course. Here we need only remark the fact that co-operation has not been practised as it might have been.

When the question is raised as to whether after all the Church has an educational function in anything more than a very general sense, and whether her business is not simply that of evangelism, two fundamentally opposed conceptions of the life and task of the Church emerge. It is beyond dispute that the view which regards education as an inseparable part of the activities of a true Christian Church goes back as far as the history of the Church can be traced with accuracy, and that it is gaining ground to-day. But it should be observed that many members of the Church, whether they be clerical or lay, who would, if challenged, most definitely declare themselves in favour of that view, nevertheless quite commonly act as though they held the other. This may arise from pre-occupation ; perhaps in some cases it is due to inertia. But the result is made plain by facts such as some of those cited in the course of our survey.

III

ADULT EDUCATION IN MOVEMENTS AKIN TO THE CHURCHES

Very frequently the Churches are criticised, and even accused of failure, because they do not deal directly with certain aspects of the life of the community, such as political developments, economic conditions, the social situation, or international affairs. Even where they seek to establish general principles by which action ought to be determined, they are taunted with being merely theoretical and hopelessly unpractical, because organised and active participation in these matters does not form part of their programme. Sometimes the charge is given a more general form ; it is said that Christianity itself has failed, and usually the remark is due to an unconscious comparison of the actual state of the world with the ideals and standards which Christianity alone has set up for the world ; in other words, the critics accept the Christian values and reject the medium by which these values have steadily been maintained, with growing if inadequate success, through every generation of the Christian era. In the case of both Christianity and the Churches, however, what is too frequently left out of account when these criticisms are formulated is the *indirect* result of the Christian message and the work of the Church. Many movements of the present time which are not ordinarily considered in connection with the Church, and which owe nothing either in origin or in subsequent development to official action on the part of the Churches, have been created by men and women directly and deeply influenced by relationship with the Churches, and fulfil tasks which it is the

concern of the Churches to see carried out as essential to the Christian reconstruction of society, even if the Churches themselves cannot or ought not to undertake the responsibility of performing them.

This is particularly true of education. The story of our schools, colleges and universities supplies ample proof, though it also records much that is lamentable with regard to the evil effects of all efforts to maintain ecclesiastical control and to safeguard orthodoxy in teaching by the application of credal tests.

In the case of adult education, as we have already remarked, many of the most distinguished pioneers have been animated by Christian motives, and have conceived their work as an indispensable supplement to the direct teaching given by the Church. The whole series of facts and deductions from those facts contained in the present essay is intended to show, among other things, that the Churches cannot afford to do less than recognise, from their own point of view, the value of all adult educational work conducted on sound educational principles, and ought to take definite steps to secure the fullest possible co-operation with the bodies responsible for that work. In a later chapter the present extent and future possibilities of co-operation between the Churches and all such organisations will be discussed. But there are some that have more in common with the Churches than others. These, it is true, may never have had any organic relationship with the Churches, and may in some instances have been supposed to be aloof from organised Christianity because they act quite independently. Sometimes they have been regarded as rivals, as "new denominations." But such suspicions and even antagonisms on the part of enthusiastic workers for the Churches are still not unknown, despite the repeated declarations of the educational organisations concerned that they neither exercise nor desire to exercise the functions of a Church. Any aloofness on their side has commonly been the natural result of coldness on the part of the Churches. In point of fact, they are distinguished from other adult

educational movements in having confessedly a spiritual basis. Some definitely regard themselves as the natural allies of the Church in the wider scope of her work. Others seek to be comprehensive in their scope and to bring together groups of students representative of the varying interests of the whole community. They do not take the neutral and non-committal attitude towards religion in general, and Christianity in particular, that some adult educational movements are required by their special purpose and function to adopt—(though many Christian people may be members of these latter movements, and certainly the former comprise many who do not call themselves Christians, and may even be unwilling to admit that they are religious). At the same time, these movements are not bound by any creed or dogma, and their educational work is definitely kept free of sectarian, as of political, propaganda.

Probably the chief movements that come within this category are the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Adult School Movement, the Educational Settlements Movement, and the Residential Settlements Movement.[1] These may be regarded as more or less akin to the Churches, though only in a very few cases formally connected with them. The first three are definitely religious and specifically Christian in their basis. Among the Social Settlements many are related by constitution and some by long tradition to a Church or Churches, while few would not agree that the aim of all their social and

[1] It is confusing to attempt to distinguish between "Residential" and "Educational" Settlements, though the Federation of the former employs the word "Residential." It is essential to the tradition and policy of Social Settlements that in addition to the warden there should be a group of workers (both paid and voluntary) living together on the Settlement premises. In the case of the Educational Settlements it is usual for the warden only to reside, though in two or three instances it happens that there are several other people also. For the sake of clearness we shall use the terms "social" and "educational," though here, again, we shall be misled unless we remember that several of the Residential Social Settlements have very strong and active educational departments, but Educational Settlements are primarily if not exclusively concerned with direct educational work.

educational work is to bring about a way of thinking and acting in accordance with values indistinguishable from those expressed in the life and teaching of Jesus Christ.[1] Each of the Educational Settlements has been established by local effort, and in some cases Friends' Meetings or Adult Schools have been the prime movers, while in at least one instance a church has been a very active and generous participant in the enterprise ;[2] in all of them the interpretation of adult education as a spiritual activity, in much the same way as it is interpreted in this book,[3] is predominant, and lectures or classes on " religious " subjects are as fully a part of the programme (in so far as specific groups of students desire them) as any others. Further, each of these Movements is intended to meet, educationally and socially, the needs of people at all stages of intellectual development and in all classes of society, just as Churches must provide for the religious needs of all. It is thus much fairer to compare the educational work and possibilities of the Churches with those of organisations falling within this category than with those of specialised organisations like the W.E.A., the Labour Colleges, or the Co-operative Education Committees. It is in this sense that we shall speak of Churches and *kindred* bodies, using the latter term to cover movements of a comprehensive, community character as well as those definitely related to Churches or definitely religious in their basis.

We have already traced the development of the Adult School movement from its origin to the beginning of the present century. From that point until the outbreak of the War it enjoyed a period of expansion both in membership and in variety of work. In particular the educational aspect of the movement received increasing attention from local schools, district unions, and the National Union. The method of handling the Bible itself was brought into closer conformity with the " Socratic " tradition on the one hand, and with modern theories of teaching on the other. The

[1] Cf. *Handbook of Settlements in Great Britain* (1922).

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Cf. Vol. I.

publication, first of study-courses and then of the annual *Lesson Handbook*, brought leaders of schools into effective contact with the results of progressive Biblical scholarship, and also helped them to relate the Bible lesson to other studies as well as to the practical problems of daily life. A monthly national magazine became the means of stimulating educational activity in the schools as well as a stronger consciousness of corporate life throughout the movement. Week-end lecture schools were developed and staff lecturers appointed. The National Union co-operated in the establishment of Fircroft as a residential college for working men,[1] and later it started its Annual Winter School for Working Girls.[2] There was also a measure of co-operation with the W.E.A. and with Local Education Authorities in the provision of week-night classes. Some schools launched out with marked success upon an all-the-week programme, and one or two were responsible for the foundation of Educational Settlements.[3] Summer Schools, and interchange of visits with friendly groups in other countries, became a regular feature of the movement, which discovered a growing interest in the study of international affairs. Correspondence courses for isolated groups of students were initiated.[4]

Naturally the response to progressive enterprise of this kind was not uniform. Some schools remained, as some still do, devoted to the "old methods" and the "old Gospel." Some suffered from lack of competent leadership. In the main, however, the movement steadily advanced. The War inflicted heavy losses of membership upon the men's schools, but the enduring vitality of the movement was proved. Since 1918 it has been able to resume all the educational activities of the pre-war programme, and has been occupied in strengthening these throughout the country. Its membership is regaining the former proportions.[5] Among its most recent undertakings is the publication, at a low price,

[1] Cf. pp. 369, 394 ff. *infra.*

[2] Cf. pp. 378 ff. *infra.*

[3] Cf. pp. 369, 384 *infra.*

[4] Cf. pp. 376 f. *infra.*

[5] The latest available estimate, in round figures, is 48,600. Cf. p. 368 *infra.*

of modern translations of the books of the Old Testament (with brief introductions) by eminent scholars—a very great contribution to that aspect of adult education to which we have devoted a special chapter,[1] for though several modern translations of the New Testament are now available, very little had been done to meet the equally great popular need with respect to the Old.[2]

In our survey will be found a full account of the existing work of the movement. Here, therefore, it is unnecessary to say more than that the Adult Schools have learned how to bring together thousands of men and women, mainly working-class though by no means exclusively so, and holding very varied views about religion and politics, for the purpose of *studying* religion and life in a fellowship embracing all sorts of intellectual, spiritual, and social interests.[3]

The educational work of the Y.M.C.A. had come, before the War, to a high state of proficiency in certain Associations, but chiefly for vocational purposes. Classes preparing young men for examinations in banking and accountancy, others in commercial subjects, and some for South Kensington or minor Civil Service examinations, were very popular and successful in London, Manchester, Liverpool, and elsewhere. These were often carried on in close co-operation with the Local Education Authorities. The Y.M.C.A. provision for

[1] Cf. Vol. I. Ch. V. [2] There is now Dr. Moffatt's translation.

[3] In *One and All* for September, 1924, the Hon. Secretary of the N.A.S.U. says: "Adult Schools stand primarily for Education; they are schools and not meetings or 'services'; they are places of study rather than of exhortation, of hard thinking rather than of religious assertion." The comparison is with the Brotherhood Movement, but on the other hand Mr. Dodgshun points out that as compared with the W.E.A.—with which they co-operate—adult schools have "quite definitely laid hold of 'the religious instinct'"; the movement is "a society with Christian ideals . . . it encourages worship and seeks to nourish the spiritual life. . . . The Adult Schools find that their best work is, for the most part, done among simpler folk and by more rudimentary study (*sc.* than characteristic of the W.E.A.) . . . it tries to meet its members on many sides of their lives, social, aesthetic, and recreational, and where there are premises, it should aim at being a community centre."

non-vocational education was generally by means of lecture-courses (of the miscellaneous and popular variety, as a rule), and literary and debating societies. In some cases clubs for the pursuit of more or less scientific hobbies had an educative value. On the side of direct religious education the weekly Bible-class offered an opportunity of systematic teaching, and in good hands proved both valuable and attractive. But, broadly speaking, until the War came, the Y.M.C.A. had never given non-vocational education of a serious type quite a proportionate place in its programme.

Faced by the needs of men on active service, and afforded exceptional opportunities by the War Office and the High Command, the Y.M.C.A. at once recognised that the only way in which it could hope adequately to deal with the situation was to create a department through which all the educational organisations in the country, so far as they were willing to co-operate, could work. The Y.M.C.A. Universities Committee resulted, and after rendering a piece of service which (with all the inevitable defects and weaknesses) was certainly unique, it was dissolved some months after the Armistice, partly because no single organisation could fittingly ask that what was practically a national committee should continue to function for the sole benefit of the particular body which called it into being to cope with a national emergency, and partly because Mr. Fisher had established the first Committee to advise the Board of Education on the Liberal Education of Adults.[1] But, as we shall see, certain permanent gains were achieved. A section of our survey [2] recounts the activities that have characterised the educa-

[1] *Vide* p. 353 *infra*. It is of particular interest in connection with our present study to notice that while the official co-operation of the Churches with the Y.M.C.A. during the War lay in other directions, the personnel of the Y.M.C.A. educational work all over the world during the War contained a considerable percentage of clergy and ministers, while others, who were serving either as chaplains to the Forces or as general workers with the Y.M.C.A., the Church Army, and other organisations, co-operated most cordially and effectively with the educational staff.

[2] Cf. pp. 350 ff. *infra*.

tional work of the Y.M.C.A. since the War. During the last six years a very considerable volume of work of the "secondary" grade has been accomplished, and a little of the "university" type. But the Y.M.C.A. has to cater for thousands of men who are ready only for the "primary" stage of adult education, and has been devising special methods of meeting that need. It was hoped that even if the scale of the war-time work could not be maintained in normal circumstances something proportionate might be attempted. Unforeseen difficulties presented themselves, and these hopes were in great part unfulfilled. Finance and general policy both proved to be hampering factors. But the Y.M.C.A. has not swerved from its purpose. It has adhered tenaciously to its educational plans wherever possible. If its work in this sphere since 1918 stood alone there could be no question about regarding it as a very substantial piece of educational activity, representing an extraordinary advance upon all that had even been imagined by Y.M.C.A. Secretaries and Committees before the War. But the Y.M.C.A. taught the nation during the War to expect so much of it educationally that unconsciously an unfair comparison has often since been made between what was possible then and what is actually being done now. The only proper comparison is between war-time and peace-time *possibilities*, all relevant circumstances being taken into account.

The Y.W.C.A. was similarly drawn by war-time conditions, especially in connection with service rendered by the Association to women munition workers and to W.A.A.C.'s, into extensive educational activity.[1] It established its own education department and staff, and worked in close collaboration with the Y.M.C.A. through the Y.M.C.A. Universities Committee. In general its experience was very similar to that of the Y.M.C.A. There was a gratifying response to its efforts on the part of those for whom these were made, and a ready stream of help from those qualified to give it. A very marked effect on the general policy of the Association after the War resulted, but though it perhaps

[1] Cf. pp. 364 ff. *infra*.

integrated its educational work more fully with its other activities than did the Y.M.C.A. for a time, circumstances hindered it from putting its policy into effect to the extent which it desired. It has, however, to its credit the foundation of the Beckenham Residential College for Working Women, which in the natural course of events developed an independent organisation, but on the Council of which the Y.W.C.A. is still represented.[1]

With the progress of the new century the Social Settlement movement, which was at its apex towards the end of last century and in the first few years of this, has suffered arrest. Several of the earlier and stronger Settlements, such as Toynbee Hall, the Mary Ward Settlement, and Bristol University Settlement, have maintained and even improved their general position, and have developed their educational work. This was always an outstanding feature at Toynbee ; it has grown in importance at the Mary Ward Settlement ; the Bristol University Settlement has not only provided educational facilities (in co-operation with the W.E.A.) for the dwellers in its neighbourhood, but, like the Birmingham Women's Settlement, has been practically a School of Social Science in the University—at least, residence and participation in work at the Settlement is counted as the practical training required for the Social Science diploma. Some of the earlier Settlements, like that now known as the Oxford and Bermondsey Club, have remodelled their constitution and methods in accordance with their experience and with changing local needs, with very happy results. But practically no new Social Settlements have been founded for some years past. The first Settlements, though not in any sense promoted by particular Churches, owed everything to the interpretation of Christianity which inspired their founders and leaders. Then came a period when Settlements like Mansfield House, the Bermondsey Settlement, or the Leys Settlement, associated (not necessarily officially, but often through connection with a College or School) with one Church or another, were planted in great centres of

[1] Cf. p. 399 *infra.*

poverty and industrial life. These have latterly experienced great difficulty in maintaining their ground. In them and in most of the smaller and weaker Settlements the claims of "direct action" in social service have tended to eliminate the more indirect method of education.

A movement which appears to possess at the moment the kind of popular appeal that enabled the Social Settlements to multiply so rapidly a generation ago is "Toc H." This certainly is a direct outcome of the efforts made by certain chaplains during the War to win and hold men to the service of Christian ideals. It has now a considerable number of hostels, and proposes to open more in different parts of the country. These, however, can hardly be called Social Settlements in any ordinary sense, for they have no such programme of direct social effort as a Settlement has. But they are intended first to foster the spirit of fellowship and then to direct it into such channels of service as the neighbourhood may afford. The prevailing note, however, is that of brotherhood among the members rather than of brotherhood with the whole community. "Toc H." apparently has not yet considered its relationship to adult education.

The Educational Settlement movement [1] may be said to date from the year in which the War broke out. Beechcroft, Birkenhead, claims the honour due to the pioneer. It is true that Swarthmore at Leeds, St. Mary's at York, and the Lemington-on-Tyne Adult School Settlement were already in existence, but they began with rather a different constitution and purpose, and only subsequently were refashioned on Educational Settlement lines. These "Settlements" (for the term is a misnomer, and was originally adopted to indicate continuity with the spirit of the older movement in a form of organisation totally different) are, with the exception of the Women's Institutes and the new Rural Community Councils in their educational aspect, the most recent distinctive development of adult education in this country. Their aim is not to provide one type of activity or to meet

[1] Cf. pp. 380 ff. *infra*.

the need of one particular class or group in their neighbourhood, but to create, primarily by the co-operation of all existing autonomous organisations for any form of adult education, a corporate expression of the spiritual, intellectual, and social life of the local community. They constitute a more democratic and comprehensive form of the People's College so familiar in the 'fifties and 'sixties of the last century. They lay great emphasis upon the leadership of the warden and upon the common life of the students, who have a large share in the government of their own Settlement. As we have already observed,[1] religious bodies have in several instances taken a prominent part in establishing Settlements or " Folkhouses " of this kind, but on the other hand the basic principle of each Settlement is that *every* educational group is welcome. The collaborating groups then constitute a body well able to survey the needs of the neighbourhood from an educational standpoint and to devise means of meeting those still not catered for. Neighbourhood experiment is thus made possible, education can be organised on informal lines with less risk of degeneration into mere amusement because the " primary," " secondary," and " university " grades are all held together under the one roof, and co-operation with the Local Education Authority and the University is made easier. Moreover, with the fifteen local Settlements [2] affiliated to the Educational Settlements Association (a federation on a strictly representative and democratic basis) there are also affiliated three colleges—Woodbrooke, Fircroft, and Beckenham—so that from the simplest group to the year's course at a residential college there is a natural "highway." In this period of eleven years there has been ample opportunity to test the general principle. There are strong Settlements and weak ones among the fifteen. Some have led the way in specialised types of work—Letchworth in the surrounding villages, Sheffield through its Little Theatre, Lemington as a centre of many varieties of Adult School work, the Bristol Folkhouse in the adaptation of a church mission centre to the

[1] Cf. pp. 43, 71, 74, 96 *supra*. [2] Total student membership about 5000.

educational needs and possibilities of the whole community. Of their particular importance for the development of the whole adult education movement more must be said in a subsequent chapter. Lack of money has been the chief hindrance to a great increase in their numbers. But also the E.S.A. has pursued the policy of helping a few to become strong rather than that of encouraging a large number to start with inadequate resources. There are signs that in the near future it will become possible and desirable for many new Educational Settlements to grow up. Hitherto London and the South of England have possessed no typical examples of Educational Settlement work—for Letchworth can hardly be regarded as in the South and Bristol is in the West. It is to be hoped that the movement will before long find as effective expression there as it has done in other parts of the country.[1]

The three colleges affiliated to the Educational Settlements Association provide a natural completion for a group of organisations established definitely on "a spiritual basis"—the orientating phrase which appears in the E.S.A. Constitution. Of Woodbrooke we have spoken in its aspect as a centre of theological, social, and educational training for members of the Society of Friends.[2] But, more particularly through the courses in social science and education which it affords, it has also proved a recruiting and training ground for tutors and wardens. It might well develop this function, for it imposes no denominational limitation upon either students or members of staff.

Fircroft and Beckenham, the two colleges specifically intended for working men and women respectively, constitute experiments in adult education of a very distinct type, and they may now claim to have achieved a success which not only bespeaks permanence for their own activities,

[1] The publication by the British Institute of Adult Education of its special Report on *The Guildhouse : a Co-operative Centre of Adult Education* (1924) is likely to stimulate fresh experiments on similar lines in many centres. Cf. p. 408 *infra*.

[2] Cf. p. 71 *supra*.

but, it is to be hoped, will lead to the creation in due time of other colleges like them. The demand for the kind of education that they give is steadily increasing, and support of their work is forthcoming from working-class bodies, business firms, private friends, Local Education Authorities —indeed from all quarters save, at present, the Board of Education.[1] Details of their organisation and work must be left to our survey.[2] The features which demand special notice here are that both colleges are strictly non-vocational, not in any technical way preparing their students to be trade-union organisers or political agents any more than they prepare them to become engineers or teachers. In each case the curriculum provides for very free and wide choice on the part of the student, so that the subjects selected may be related to his or her special interests. Students are helped and guided in the matter of their plans for the future. If, as most of them do, they return to their former occupations, one of the chief purposes of each college is fulfilled: if they discover capacities for some kind of work from which they have been debarred by lack of general education and are able when they leave the college to take up this new vocation (or to enter upon special preparation for it), again the college has rendered an important service. But the main concern with respect to every student is not whether he or she secures this or that job when the year of study is over, but whether he or she goes to it with a new

[1] The Board's regulations hitherto have required that a residential college, to qualify for grant aid, should provide a two-years' curriculum. But the regulations of 1924 require only a one-year course. Fircroft aims at keeping all its students for three terms, though it takes a small proportion for one or two. Beckenham makes one year, at present, both minimum and maximum. But both consider it desirable to send on the few students who can afford further time to other institutions more fully equipped for advanced study. *E.g.* Beckenham has sent women to Woodbrooke, Elsinore, the Goldsmiths' College, etc. Fircroft has just sent a man to Manchester College, Oxford, on a two or three-year educational studentship offered by Manchester College, and another to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, on one of the new bursaries for adult students given by the University Extra-mural Board.

[2] Cf. pp. 393 ff. *infra*.

outlook, with strengthened powers of study and thought, with clearer purpose and riper judgment, and with an enthusiasm for knowledge and understanding which will make him or her not only a life-long student but a missionary of education in the broadest sense. The students in both colleges are immensely keen politicians and trade unionists ; they make the most of their opportunities for the study of the economic, social, and political sciences ; but they have also a zest for history, literature, and philosophy, and they become enthusiastic about music and art ; their social life is a great factor in personal development and in the quickening of the community spirit ; while no student is ever asked to attend courses of Biblical study, or other lectures and classes providing for free discussion of religious questions in the light of modern knowledge, there are practically none who do not include these among their choice.

Fircroft was founded in 1909 on the model of the Danish High Schools, and represents co-operation chiefly between the Adult School movement and the W.E.A. Beckenham was founded ten years later by the Y.W.C.A., but is now an independent organisation with a Council comprising members nominated by the Y.W.C.A., the National Adult School Union, the W.E.A., the E.S.A., the Kent County Education Authority, the University of London, and other bodies. Each college has a strong "Old Students' Association," represented on its governing body and exercising a definite influence on its policy. Both stand for a mental efficiency and an equipment for all forms of social service alike inspired and sustained by a belief that real material and intellectual progress depend upon moral energy and spiritual insight.

Among the organisations akin to the Churches whose adult educational work has been reviewed in this chapter there is one obvious and important distinction in type. The Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., and the Social Settlements regard education as an essential part of their programme, but only as a part. The Educational Settlements, the Colleges, and to a great degree the Adult Schools, exist mainly if not wholly for the purpose of adult education, in the liberal

sense of that term. General observations regarding the educational strength and weakness of these bodies would clearly be vitiated by any failure to bear in mind this constitutional difference.

Taking first the Y.M.C.A., there is no doubt that, while it has maintained from the very outset its ideal of a "fourfold programme," its experience during the War revealed to it the possibilities of serious, continuous educational work of a non-vocational character, and also set it in the way of making valuable experiments with regard to the educational use of informal and recreative activities. Above all it learned the necessity of calling in the aid of the Universities, the Local Education Authorities, voluntary educational organisations, and individual men and women possessing definite educational qualifications and experience. On the other hand the Y.M.C.A. has become closely associated with education, not only in the minds of the general public, but also in those of responsible people throughout the adult education movement, so that official co-operation and voluntary help were both obtainable. Its leaders are now deeply convinced that unless education is an effective part of its permanent work—no mere department, but a permeating principle—that work cannot succeed. It was by no fault of the Association that it was placed, during 1919, in a financial position such that it was compelled to abandon its hopes of appointing an educational secretary to every division at home, retaining the services of many workers—ministers, clergy, teachers, and lay people—who had discovered their vocation in adult education during their service under the Y.M.C.A. Universities Committee in France or elsewhere, and developing the Educational Settlement plan at suitable centres, particularly in rural and industrial areas. As it was, the Y.M.C.A. made the most of its resources, and a handful of exceptionally competent and enthusiastic divisional educational secretaries have proved along varying lines in the districts allotted to them what concentration can accomplish. In South Wales practically the whole substance of Y.M.C.A. work during the last three

years has been that of direct adult education. In Oxfordshire education has been most effectively integrated with the other elements of the Association programme for villages and small country towns, and effective co-operation with the W.E.A., the Village Clubs Association, the Women's Institutes, and the L.E.A. laid the foundation for the Rural Community Council which proved to the Carnegie Trustees the value of aiding a national Rural Community Councils movement wherever the participation of County Councils could be secured. In the singularly difficult fields presented by Yorkshire and Lancashire on the one hand and London and the Home Counties on the other, very successful efforts have been made in the direction of adapting subjects and methods to the needs and interests of young business men and industrial workers. Continued co-operation with specifically educational bodies has been maintained and developed both at Headquarters, through the members of the Education Committee and its able secretary, himself a Cambridge man and a trained teacher, and locally. Particularly noticeable is the way in which, finding after considerable effort that educational work in village clubs throughout the East Midlands was possible but very difficult, the Y.M.C.A. requested the Adult Education Department of the University College of Nottingham to appoint a Committee of Enquiry. This the Department very gladly did, securing the co-operation of other educational organisations working in the district, with the result that a valuable Report on *The Educational Possibilities of Village Clubs* was issued in May 1923, and has led to very effective co-operation between all the educational bodies (official and voluntary) concerned. Another important direction in which Y.M.C.A. educational policy has developed is that of co-operation with the Adult School movement. The Y.M.C.A. has access to scores of thousands of men who demand the particular blend of religious, social, and recreational facilities that it offers, and is proving that education will appeal to these men if it is properly presented to them.

A disadvantage from which much Y.M.C.A. post-War

work suffered, however, has been one which now the Association is seeking to overcome.[1] Endeavouring to satisfy the demand that it should open Associations and Clubs on all hands, in order to cater for the returning troops who had become accustomed naturally to turn in at the sign of the Red Triangle, it overstrained its resources, not only of finance but of personnel. If the whole programme of the Y.M.C.A. is to be carried through under his leadership the general secretary of an Association or Club must at least have an appreciation of the value and place of education, and this it is by no means easy to secure in every case when so many qualifications are required of one man. Much ought to be said of the splendid service rendered to the cause of education by the general secretaries of centres where the educational work has prospered, whether under the guidance of a divisional educational secretary in one of the selected areas, or quite independently in one that has had no such help and stimulus available. But their success only shows more clearly that however well developed a national educational department may be, and however excellent the educational programme put forward by that department, the life of the individual association or club is in the hands of its general secretary. If he has no real concern for education not only will the specifically educational activities be neglected or omitted, but the other aspects of Association work, upon which emphasis actually falls, will be robbed of what might be an educational effect.

A less easily appreciated danger, however—though it is one that occurs in certain types of Y.M.C.A. with unfortunate frequency—is that of estimating the tastes and capacities of the membership on too low a scale. A secretary who, believing himself to be an average man, has no strong inclination towards books, lectures, classes and other media of mental and spiritual discipline and enrichment, naturally cannot conceive that the ordinary member has any such inclination. He thinks of the persistent reader as a bookworm, and of attendance at classes or lectures as the unusual

[1] Cf. p. 364 *infra*.

hobby of a few. The result is that the members of his Association are never challenged intellectually, and have little or no chance of discovering or displaying, within the borders of the Association, their true proclivities and possibilities. They become accustomed to the use of leisure on a lower plane. It is not merely that those whose educational bent is strong are never attracted to a Y.M.C.A. of that kind, but that those who are attracted are in a sense betrayed into ignorance and neglect of their own finest capacities. With this, of course, goes a view of education as nothing more than the study of commercial and technical subjects for purely vocational purposes. Indeed secretaries and Associations have occasionally been known to pride themselves upon the number and strength of their educational classes, when all that was happening was simply that the Y.M.C.A. was developing, on one side, into a technical and commercial institute.

But, as we have said, this danger has been perceived and is being counteracted, though the process must of necessity be a long one. Another pitfall, which is equally fatal, but into which even secretaries and Associations that believe in education sometimes drop through failure to believe sufficiently in the readiness of men to respond to an educational programme, is that of putting the social and recreational activities forward at first, in the hope that men caught by these may be held for education. The fallacy has been amply disproved. Education must have its proper place from the outset, and its natural relationship to the other interests must be shown, or they will usurp its claims completely and finally.

It should be remembered that in these matters other organisations of the men's club type have sinned far more grievously. The fourfold programme of the Y.M.C.A., however, carries with it a special responsibility. *Noblesse oblige.* On the other hand, the weaknesses that we have mentioned are no more serious than those which we have already noted in the case of the Churches, except that the Y.M.C.A. more often has social and recreational facilities which attract

large numbers of young men, while the Churches have in their ministries, and nowadays as a matter of course, leaders who have had several years of college (and usually of university) training. Obviously there is much to be gained by closer co-operation between the two, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter.

This is all the more true in a sphere wherein the Y.M.C.A. itself does not claim a success at all parallel to that which, since the War and within the limitations already described, it has achieved with regard to general cultural education. Its religious work has, during the last two or three years, been the subject of much thought on the part of its most responsible leaders. Some of the finest and most scholarly of the clergy and ministers from all the Churches gave themselves unstintedly to the work of the Y.M.C.A. during the War. The fact was that these strong and able exponents of Christianity naturally made their appeal to the whole man.[1] They were educational in all their work. But what they discovered was that their fundamental beliefs and their way of stating these came as something startlingly new to the average man—then the average "Tommy"—because of the appalling and almost fatal neglect of educational methods which had characterised the Churches for a generation previously. The careful and exhaustive [2] enquiry conducted by very representative men, among whom the Bishop of Winchester, Principal W. B. Selbie, and Professor David Cairns were foremost, showed that most men entertained completely erroneous notions about the prevailing attitude of people in the Churches towards the Bible, Christian doctrine, and Christian ethics. It was supposed that verbal inspiration, antiquated legalistic dogma, and kill-joy nega-

[1] "What was it, in the war experience, which unlocked the magic casket of English 'reserve' and made Englishmen both receptive to new ideas and impressions and ready to give out, instead of bottling up, their thoughts and feelings? Surely it was the fact that the war made an appeal, not to this or that element in us, but to the whole man, to everything in every man." A. E. Zimmern: "The Evolution of a Citizen," in *The Way Out*, p. 29.

[2] Cf. *The Army and Religion* (1919), *passim*.

tions and prohibitions are still the substance of current orthodoxy. And against these the ordinary man naturally revolted. Not only was the need of education emphasised by this enquiry, but the response to it when offered was demonstrated in practical experience during these eventful years.

Unfortunately, however, education and religion were not for some years after 1918 so closely bound up together in the general programme of the Y.M.C.A. as its own experience, to say nothing of such theories as have been enumerated in the first part of this essay, clearly suggested. One reason was the necessity of keeping the two official departments distinct during the War in order to make it quite clear to the military mind that the Y.M.C.A. intended to be loyal to its undertaking not to allow education to be used as camouflage for propaganda by any religious sect or political party. It consequently took more time in the years of general readjustment following the Armistice to construct a working policy between departments which had developed along somewhat different lines during the War. Here again the Y.M.C.A. is in like case with the Churches, except that this time it is the Churches that have an advantage in their possession of highly-trained ministries, whether the men in those ministries have taken effective measures to pass on their knowledge to others less fortunate or not. And in the case of both the Y.M.C.A. and the Churches it must be said with all possible emphasis that nothing could be more unfair, misleading, and fatuous than to level charges or criticisms, or even to suggest the existence of weaknesses, without recognising that there are abundant and splendid exceptions.

The Y.W.C.A. was fated to suffer a shock of financial recoil after the War, just as did the Y.M.C.A. and all similar organisations. Being a smaller organisation and possessing less stable resources, it suffered in greater proportion. It was compelled to close its Education Department, and to forego entirely the help of even a small paid staff of education officers. It had also to encounter troubles arising from

theological differences among its chief supporters, and a resultant split. But the spirit of progress has triumphed in the Association, and though the Y.W.C.A. has laboured under what might have been fatal difficulties, it has already given evidence of a sound policy and of considerable educational activity (especially in the spheres of religion, citizenship, and the use of leisure) within the very severe limitations created by its circumstances.

To assess the work of a movement like the Adult School is a matter of considerable difficulty. Among some eighteen hundred schools there is room for great variety of methods, standards, emphases, and even aims. In the course of more than a century there is time for the same school or group of schools to fluctuate considerably. Even a school that is not more than fifteen or twenty years old may have undergone great changes. And of course there are many schools of quite recent origin. But within the last two decades progress has certainly not been so rapid as at some periods in the history of the movement, and perhaps the general educational policy has not been so clear. As our survey indicates, a Forward Movement is now being developed, and one of the principal intentions of its promoters is to stress the educational possibilities of Adult Schools and to encourage not only extension but a general raising of educational standards in existing schools. Definite suggestions along these lines were formulated a year or so ago, and will take at least ten years to work out. Even now, as the evidence shows,[1] the movement may well be proud of the quantity and quality of educational effort which the more vigorous schools are putting forth. But this is only an added reason for bringing the others up to a similar level of activity. The existence of a healthy spirit of self-criticism in the movement is made evident by the fact that Sir George Newman, than whom no one could be more loyal to it or more convinced of its permanent value, can address to it such words as these: "In the first place, the education provided has probably been too miscellaneous and casual,

[1] Cf. pp. 368 ff. *infra*.

insufficiently thorough and organised. Some schools have been overdone with emotional religiousness (though never with religion) and underdone on their intellectual side. With others the opposite has been the case. . . . This leads us to a second defect, which is that the education afforded by an Adult School tends to be discontinuous. . . . Much has been done in recent years to arrange consecutive subjects—and the Lesson Handbook is invaluable, and a quite remarkable text-book—but admirable as are the courses of lessons, the study and instruction are for the majority discontinuous, with many breaks and interruptions. Thirdly, the teaching is almost exclusively didactic rather than exploratory. The worker-student has neither time nor capacity to study in the true sense. The information must be furnished, and more or less by authority. This is good as far as it goes, but it is liable to be unbalanced and unrestrained. . . . Lastly, the whole movement is lamentably short of teachers and tutors, of books and equipment. We have hoped great things from it, *but we have starved it.* We have expected it to yield rich and abundant fruit, but we have not supplied the essential conditions of fruitage. There are, of course, exceptional schools to which these observations do not apply ; there has been for twenty years a reforming group of leaders, and they have done wonders." [1] Later in the same article Sir George reiterates the call for leaders, and urges, too, the demand for an education that meets the needs of the whole man.[2]

[1] *The Friend*, 13th October, 1922.

[2] "It is not sufficient," he says elsewhere, "to *add on* education to a life of drudgery, to attempt to amuse men after the day's toil, to relieve the monotony of their home life. To do this is to create a false and dangerous dualism, to establish an antagonism, an anachronism. We are merely trifling with the job unless our education is a vitalising power which transforms and transmutes, in a word redeems, the drudgery, the toil and the monotony. The crucial test is not the entertainment of men, but their recreation ; it is not to add an accomplishment to an unaccomplished experience but to transfigure it, to give it new vision and new life which shall enhance its whole being ; it is not to provide instruction and information only, but to

Another sympathetic critic, Prof. Robert Peers, has said that to make education too easy is a fatal mistake, and that there is grave danger in awakening demands which the schools do not satisfy. He urges the institution of more definite and regular lecture courses and study-groups, and points to the importance of having, where possible, definite Adult School premises, and developing work on Educational Settlement lines. He perceives in the movement much diffused enthusiasm, but enthusiasm directed by no steady purpose and therefore reaching no certain goal.

In the course of his argument he shows how the Adult Schools, towards the end of last century, helped to satisfy the demand for adult education that sprang from the growth of elementary education, the development of science and invention, the issue of cheap books and popular periodicals. "In towns, at least, they made a strong appeal to young men of independent mind, who were dissatisfied with the easy piety of the Churches, and who were eager for knowledge." But the Schools, he thinks, failed to keep abreast of the times, and lost the very men whose desire for education they had stimulated. "The young man of to-day," he affirms, "is not particularly interested in theological problems; and in any case the Churches are freeing themselves from the shackles of dogma, and there is less need to seek opportunities for the free discussion of religious problems outside. In education, the need now is not so much to stimulate appetite as to provide solid opportunities for study." [1]

This judgment has of course been challenged. Members of Adult Schools have maintained very strongly that the need to stimulate demand remains as urgent as ever—has indeed become, if anything, more imperative. It is argued that the extra-mural facilities now offered by colleges and universities are, after all, not greeted with an enthusiastic

make good and useful citizens. The education which is needed is that which will provide for soul-growth, and make life and labour themselves worthy in meaning, in purpose and in action."

[1] *One and All*, October and November, 1922.

welcome on the part of those for whom they are designed. Blame is laid (where it surely belongs) upon the unsatisfactory nature of our system of elementary education—not of course upon the teachers who have to struggle with the handicap that this imposes upon them. "At present the greatest difficulty is to arouse the interest of our average elementary school youth in anything but games. His ignorance of the simplest things in history, geography, literature, art, is literally appalling; his apathy is more so when it is remembered that he is the future citizen." [1]

In view of this the apologia offered merits consideration: "Education has sometimes been conceived as a *modus vivendi*—development of ability to live with one's neighbour—ability to appreciate another's differences of opinion—to see things in the right light—to make one's personality attractive, and to get into right relations with man and God. Probably—viewing education as instruction—the Adult School will never be a big movement. It is a voluntary movement, doing voluntary work in its spare time. That any man will take his LL.D. or B.Sc. merely after a course in an Adult School is not hoped for at present. That five years' *active membership* of an Adult School will make him more tolerant of others' opinions, more truly cognisant of his own position in his own town and the universe, more Christian in the true sense of that much-abused term, is an ideal which has been realised thousands of times." [2]

The two points of view are not really antagonistic. That such quotations as those on the foregoing pages can all be culled from what has recently been written by people within the movement itself suffices to show how varied is the task of the Adult Schools and how great are their possibilities. As the Honorary Secretary to the National Adult School Union and the Chairman of its Education and Social Service Committee on the one hand, in stating the national programme, and Prof. Peers on the other, in offering suggestions for its future development, have all remarked, there can be no one

[1] *Vide* correspondence in *One and All*, November, 1922.
[2] *Ibid.*

rigid standard or set of methods. There must be high quality, at whatever stage. There must also be not only variety but careful gradation, so that men and women pass naturally from one stage to another. In fact, the principle of wholeness to which we have repeatedly referred in the course of this study must be brought into application.

No doubt the movement has suffered like others from a tendency to self-sufficiency. It has been marked in many instances by a touch of the superior spirit, especially in relation to the Churches. Making considerable claims educationally, it has not lived up to them in more than a considerable minority of cases. But it is renewing its power of self-examination and is setting out afresh upon an aspect of Christian educational effort for which it is peculiarly suited, and in which it has achieved much that is of enduring value. Also the active desire for co-operation, both with the Churches and with other bodies concerned entirely with adult education, is steadily growing.

Almost without exception the Educational Settlements have had the smallest of small beginnings—a class or two in a couple of rooms, an Adult School determined to pursue definite studies during the week, a group of friends setting out to elicit the cultural possibilities of their own immediate neighbourhood. In only two or three instances have they started with a block of buildings or a full list of activities. Only when at least five or six years have passed can such an experiment afford data for judgment as to the value and permanence of the particular Settlement involved. As we have seen, even those Educational Settlements which had a " pre-Settlement " period of development go no further back than 1909, and of those now in existence half were of post-War foundation. Furthermore, the Settlements differ in details of constitution, membership and programme as much as do the local needs and circumstances which each was designed to meet.

Sufficient experience has been gained, however, especially in the case of those Educational Settlements that have been at work for ten years or so, to enable us to distinguish reasons

for such success as has been attained, and dangers which one Settlement after another has had to face. Probably the greatest service rendered by these Settlements to the Adult Education movement as a whole is that they present a series of practical experiments which afford both stimulus and data for a much wider application of the main principle.

The attraction of serious and persistent educational work has been fully proved, and this not for a few score people gathered out of great populations, but for several hundreds in the case of each of the earlier Settlements and certain of the more recent ones. The figures from Beechcroft, St. Mary's (York), Letchworth, and the Bristol Folkhouse may be cited in this connection.[1] It has been found unnecessary to introduce billiard tables, weekly whist-drives, ball-room dancing, and the rest of the supposedly indispensable adjuncts to social life. Music, drama, folk-dancing, and pageants have afforded the needed variation from formal lectures and classes. But the social life of the Settlements, focussed in a cheery and artistic lounge or common-room, is rooted in the natural fellowship between those who are seeking in diverse ways the enrichment of the intellectual and imaginative life. Deviations in the direction of becoming dull or of developing unduly the recreative aspect of the Settlement have of course occurred, but this has been put right by a little reshaping of the programme.

In some cases there has been a tendency, especially in the first year or two of the life of a Settlement, to remain content with a small group of likeminded people who might become nothing more than an eclectic little society, without real community spirit and dominated by rather narrow aims. But by bringing in more existing educational organisations as autonomous but co-operating members of the Settlement, by securing representation of local educational bodies on the governing Council, and by various other means, the danger may be averted. Certainly in all of those Educational Settlements that have anything like an assured future the community spirit has become very strong. It is felt that

[1] Cf. pp. 388 ff. *infra.*

the Settlement exists not for the benefit and pleasure merely of those who belong to it, but for the enrichment of the life of the whole neighbourhood. Yet even in so small a group there are some which cannot be regarded as exemplifying the spirit and method of the movement satisfactorily. It may happen, of course, that support and co-operation reasonably expected from certain quarters have not been forthcoming, and the originators of the Settlement are left to struggle on as best they may. But more than one instance has occurred in which a Settlement has been promoted by one educational body in the neighbourhood which has made no real effort, at the beginning or subsequently, to secure the participation of others or to get local branches or other educational organisations established in connection with the Settlement if they were not already in existence. This not only weakens and narrows the work of the Settlement ; it really strikes at the essential principle of the Educational Settlement movement. A mere extension of one type cannot truly be described as a " community centre " or " centre for co-operation " in adult education. And on the other hand some experiments have demonstrated the extreme difficulty—perhaps it is too early yet to say the impossibility—of grafting an Educational Settlement on to an established organisation which is not primarily educational in its purpose, whatever advantages it may have to offer in respect of premises, local prestige, a staff of social or religious workers, and so forth. It would seem to be essential to the success of an Educational Settlement that from the outset it should be independent while thoroughly comprehensive, educational through and through while neglecting no grade or method necessary to its aim of providing for *all* types of adult in its area, under the leadership of a wise and competent warden though genuinely democratic in its government. Neglect of any of these requirements, whether at the start or later, is almost sure to end in one-sidedness, exclusiveness, inefficiency, or deadly satisfaction with a very partial success. It is by constant regard for all these principles that the stronger and more

representative Educational Settlements have shown the value and possibilities of the movement.

The spirit of freedom that prevails is one of the reasons for the success that has been achieved. The Settlement has not been planted in the neighbourhood by the University or the Church or any other well-disposed body. It is the creation of the people themselves, and for it they are responsible. Individuals and groups taking the most diverse points of view are welcome, and in their meeting there is discovered to be great gain. Mere contiguity has led to co-operation. Sooner or later the various groups in the Settlement seek the help of their fellow-students in colleges and universities, whatever suspicions (sometimes on both sides) may have been cherished beforehand. The provision for people with very different interests and capacities not only attracts men and women in the first instance to whatever may appeal to them most, but opens a very easy path from one interest to another, or from the comparatively simple to the more advanced stages of education, at the same time making all the students feel that they are part of one body, and unifying the conception of education.

The spiritual basis of these Settlements is a reality, though there is complete freedom from creeds and from institutionalised religion. People who are willing to study subjects related to religion in what they feel to be an atmosphere of impartiality soon discover that the comparison of experience is a more vital element in religious education than any mere reading of books, listening to lectures, or discussion of abstract ideas and theories. This is true also of people who at first thought they had no interest in religion and have devoted themselves to some social, literary, or scientific study. The Adult Schools give opportunity for the kind of religious intercourse and mutual education in religion to which we are here referring. Many Educational Settlements, though not all, include one or more adult schools. But many Settlement students do not belong to Adult Schools or attend fellowship meetings, and of these a warden said recently, in giving evidence before the British Institute of

Adult Education's Commission on the Educational Work of Settlements, that they come constantly to wardens with "spiritual questions." Small groups have been growing up, drawn together by the desire for deeper knowledge of these things, and the Auxiliary Movement groups now formed in some Settlements are a very clear expression of the same desire to "educate the whole man" in the best and most complete sense of the word Education.

The possession of premises, however inadequate, and the leadership of a wise and well-equipped warden are essential to the life and work of an Educational Settlement. Fortunately, the Settlements thus far have generally been able to secure what was required in each respect—though beyond all other factors in the progress of the movement has been the influence of the wardens. A problem will arise in the future with regard to both leadership and premises. Finance affects both questions. The utmost care must be taken to secure the right people as wardens, and though premises may be a secondary consideration, and in any case should not be elaborate and need not be costly, the work of a Settlement will suffer if it has not sufficient lecture-hall, class-room and common-room accommodation. Also, if no suspicion of rivalry is to arise, the ideal of Settlements—which is to supply centres of co-operation and not to seek any kind of authority, even in co-ordination—must be made very clear to other voluntary educational bodies, to official educational bodies, and to the Churches. It is essential to the success of such an enterprise that all these organisations should work in the spirit of co-operation, whether they actually participate in the life and activities of the Settlements or not. The Churches, particularly, must be brought to see that the best thing they can do for some of their members, as well as for themselves in the long run, is to persuade those members to take some at least of their continued education through membership of Educational Settlements. On the whole the Educational Settlements are perhaps in a better position to foster liberal education, both "secular" and "religious," than other bodies men-

tioned in this study, because they are the common meeting-place of all. Properly conceived and constituted they are not so much new members of the adult educational family as the whole family working together in each locality. They can thus bring the Churches and the W.E.A. or the University Extra-mural Department together, for example. They can concentrate the educational forces of the community, and thus remedy diffuseness and overlapping. But this can be only as they are community enterprises, and are, educationally, servants of all.

As to the " Residential " Settlements, the educational tide is beginning to turn. The general development of adult education, and perhaps in particular the steady educational policy of certain outstanding University Settlements, have doubtless done something to bring them back to the original ideal with which Canon Barnett and the earlier founders and wardens of university, public school, and similar Settlements started out upon their work. The first International Conference of Settlements, held at Toynbee Hall in July 1922, has reinforced this tendency. The keynotes of that conference, as Miss Mary MacDowell said, were education and leadership.[1]

We have already noticed that many of the Residential Settlements are much more definitely connected with certain Churches than are any of the educational ones—in fact, the policy of the two groups in this matter is quite different, though their aim is the same. Whatever drawbacks there may be to the denominational affiliation of Social Settlements, there are also advantages, and these should be utilised much more fully by both the Settlements and the Churches concerned, especially with regard to adult education. The Social Settlements have also in many cases very effective points of contact with local trade unions. Settlement workers are frequently drawn from Universities, and often serve as members of Borough or District Councils : some indeed occupy positions of considerable influence on Local Education Committees. All of these relationships afford

[1] *Settlements and their Outlook*, p. 162.

special opportunities of promoting adult education and facilitating co-operation between the various groups of people chiefly concerned with it.

As Mrs. Barnett has observed, many of the social and philanthropic activities which Social Settlements were, at an earlier period, compelled to undertake if they were not to let the people of their neighbourhoods suffer and even perish before their eyes are now performed by public authorities and specialised voluntary bodies, so that Settlements are free to plan their programmes more deliberately and to give education its right place. Settlements should indeed, in words used by Mr. R. H. Tawney at the International Conference, be "the educational conscience of the community." But in fact there is no spiritual, social, civic or international task now confronting Social Settlements that does not involve the study, propaganda and practice of adult education. And for this the Social Settlements are well qualified and generally well equipped. What Toynbee Hall, Bristol University Settlement, Mary Ward Settlement, and Cambridge House—for example—have done and are doing, others can do in their own degree. If they fail even to attempt it, however much lip service they may give to the principle, their days of anything that can be called life are assuredly numbered, and their chances of serving the community in any way that is fundamental and constructive would appear to be a diminishing quantity.[1]

[1] The Report of the special Committee of Enquiry into adult educational work in Settlements, appointed by the British Institute of Adult Education at the joint request of the E.S.A. and the Federation of Residential Settlements, has now been published under the title *The Guildhouse : A Co-operative Centre of Adult Education* (1924).

PART II

FROM ANALYSIS TO SYNTHESIS

IV

THE POSSIBILITIES OF CO-OPERATION

Seventy years ago James Hole declared that division of labour had been carried to extreme limits, and that what was needed was synthesis.[1] Towards this we are still but slowly and painfully struggling in our own day. The perpetual hindrance to every genuine effort lies in the doctrinaire belief so prevalent throughout industry that the interest of the employer is opposed to that of the employed, that craft unionism is necessary—as against industrial unionism—in order to safeguard one grade or type of workman against another, and so forth. But the same problem besets us in politics, in international affairs, in religion ; parties, nations, sects are taught by those who have power amongst them that they must needs live by warfare, and can prosper only as they triumph over their rivals. The resources of the world are supposed to be insufficient to secure the welfare of all the people in it. It is the fallacy of Malthus in every field of human life. Meantime life itself is threatened. Yet beneath it all there is a conviction that mankind is one, and when men speak from their hearts instead of merely shouting their second-hand creeds they unconsciously bear witness to it.

If education is to have its perfect work it will liberate men from thraldom to half-truths, and will unite them in the knowledge of reality.[2] The process of synthesis is one that

[1] *Mechanics' Institutions*, p. 49.

[2] As Mr. Kenneth Richmond has said : "It is the business of education not to neglect awkward half-truths, but to expand them into whole truths." *Education for Liberty*, p. 182.

education should help men to make predominant in their lives. In an arresting book [1] Mr. F. H. Doughty argues that intuition is synthetic, apprehending life as it is, while intellect is analytic, enquiring into it under aspects separable only in abstraction. Science, History, and Art, in his view, are the chief avenues to the understanding of the wholeness of life, but religion is the supreme act of synthesis. Education must therefore, he maintains, be in essence spiritual. "Intuition is no short-cut to knowledge; on the contrary it it is the only real effective source of a demand for knowledge. The deeper one's insight, the more need is there for honest and hard intellectual work, the more clearly one *sees*, the greater is one's sense of ignorance, and the keener will be one's desire for enlightenment. The more one feels that 'internal necessity,' that urging to labour and service which are the 'motor-aspect' of an intuitive ideal, the more unwearying and imperative will be one's call to the purely intellectual activities that their practical solution and furtherance prescribe." [2] In the same way the conviction that spiritual values are supreme in ultimate reality involves constant endeavour to secure actual supremacy for them in all human thought and action. "In religion, the surer our hold upon Eternal Truth becomes, the more exacting and extensive will be our demand upon intellect. It is all merely

[1] *Education and the Spirit* (1924).

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 126. From a different point of view Dr. T. B. Strong has lately stated a similar position, *i.e.* "That the element in man's effort to interpret the world which expresses itself later as religion is a primary and necessary element in his reaction to his environment; or at least that it has the same kind of validity that is allowed to those elements which express themselves later as philosophy, art and ethics. At the earliest stage it would appear that these elements are not distinct but fused, and they become separated as reflection grows." Dr. Strong traces this process, and shows how it is that philosophy and science acquire a predominance which does not belong to them, since they are not complete accounts of experience. "But," he says, "the religious impulse in its Christian form brings them all again into a kind of unity.... They are recognised as elements in a vast historic scheme." *Religion, Philosophy and History* (1924), Preface and pp. 61, 74.

a question of putting first things first, of realising that it is the spiritual faculty [1] that sees the way, and intellect that provides the means." [2] If, as he affirms, it is the vision that matters, the question of means and machinery for consequent action being subordinate, though in its degree vital, we are brought back to the consideration of values. Only as we are sure of our ground here can we safely go on to constructive proposals.

We have taken a rapid glance at some first principles in the philosophy of education. Then, reminding ourselves of the main lines along which adult education has developed historically, we have considered the many types of activity surrounding us to-day, and have looked with especial care [3] at those connected directly or indirectly with the Churches because little attention, comparatively, has hitherto been directed to them as actual or potential factors in the adult education movement as a whole. What we have seen is that all adult education is animated by this intuitive sense of spiritual values, but that in much of it that sense is implicit, partial, or badly proportioned. Some "secular" movements have not related it to religion—indeed, they may even regard religion as the enemy. Some religious movements have failed to appreciate the inseparability of what they seek from the economic, political, or international quests of others. Clearly we all need to re-echo Robert Louis Stevenson's prayer—"Stab my spirit broad awake." But we need

[1] Not to be regarded as a separate "organ"; Mr. Doughty protests against all notions of the apartness of religion from the rest of human experience, and insists on "the inclusiveness of spiritual faculty."

[2] *Ibid.* p. 34. "We do not conceive of religion as something of special or esoteric significance, but as in the nature of the synthesis of all human knowledge and activity, towards which all the varied aspects of men's nature contribute their appropriate part, and without which no thought can have significance, no action any meaning" (p. 99). "Religion thus becomes, in its final analysis, the relation of man to the infinite and eternal, its goal (all questions of method, content, or technique laid aside) the God-consciousness" (p. 96).

[3] This, of course, assumes the survey, pp. 219 ff. *infra*, which lies behind Chapters II. and III.

also intellectually to follow out our intuitions—to recognise the nature of the synthesis which alone can satisfy our hopes and fulfil our purposes. And we need to know by what practical means we may help to bring about not only the realisation of our unity in diversity, but also that "mutual aid" in education without which we shall none of us ever become educated. If there is any truth in our thesis that all these diverse forms of adult education are "of one spirit," though they may not have known it, what is necessary in order to produce in them all a complete and conscious purpose, and to enable them all to attain their true object? Since we are particularly concerned in this study with what the Churches and educational organisations akin to them are doing and can do, what suggestions ought to be put forward for their consideration?

Unless we can reach some practical conclusions our discussion of theories and collocation of facts will have small value. At the same time our task is a much greater one than that of merely drawing ground plans and elevations or detailing specifications. If an integrated adult education movement is to be achieved it must be an expression of vigorous life, and must have organic, harmonious relation to all the other expressions which that life finds for itself. Because this has been so in the case of the working-class movement in adult education that movement has become powerful. Apart from similar conditions no movement that emanates from the Churches will succeed. And if the two are to be related as they ought to be they must find their contact through something deeper than mere organisation. For the Churches this involves a conception of spiritual values which covers the whole of life. For other organisations—social, political, or what not—it demands penetration into the real nature of the values which they already accept. For both it is essential that their educational efforts, and all attempts to relate these together, must not be the concern of only a few leaders or a handful of specially interested people on either side, but rather the natural outcome of the whole corporate life of their respective movements. Pioneers,

experimenters, enthusiasts point the way, but solid progress is made only when the whole community sees the goal and chooses the path that leads to it.

While, therefore, we turn to consider how the results of our enquiry may be put to practical use in the further development of adult education, our detailed suggestions must be made in the light of facts and forces other than purely educational ones. We cannot examine here such questions as the ecclesiastical and theological bases of the Churches, the reasons for differences and the degree to which it is either possible or desirable that these should be completely eliminated, or the ultimate relation between Church and State, and their respective functions in education. Neither can we go into equally vital and relevant questions such as the nature of our present social order, economic and political proposals for its improvement, class-consciousness (implicit or explicit, for it is not only those who boast of it that are really animated by it), or nationalism as a basis for social organisation, and the relationship of these to militarism and imperialism of either the political or the economic variety. But all of these influence the ways in which men group themselves for any purpose whatever. Education, rightly interpreted and pursued, may help towards the solution of many of the problems which they present. But the possibilities of educational organisation will be limited by the facts which they connote. We may set out by means of education to enable men to make the most of themselves and of society, and we may feel confident that this will come about sooner or later in virtue of the discovery and acceptance of spiritual values now neglected or only half-understood. But it is in a world made up of all these controversial and yet strongly cherished systems of thought and experience that the process has to go on. Our ideals of education and our plans with regard to it may be very neatly worked out, but this will be to little purpose if they are isolated from the ideals and plans, religious and ecclesiastical, social and political, economic and industrial, to which the various groups composing the nation are in practice com-

mitted. Mutual adjustment of these will probably be found to require modification of them all. But the avoidance of a compromise no less fatal than the present clash is essential, and can be secured only by bringing everything in personal and social life to one test—the test of a scale of values which is not only good and appropriate in itself, but also concordant with the nature of reality. To use a phrase which expresses the conviction avowed by many authoritative educationists, economists, and politicians in our own time, and which equally well formulates the thought of progressive Christians, we must needs accept the Kingdom of God as the regulative ideal.[1]

This implies the very reverse of an attempt to squeeze all expressions of life into one mould. It does not suggest "undenominationalism," "non-political action," "denationalisation," or any other futile negation. Harmony is a triumph over a sheer, chaotic, purposeless conflict of distinct notes (though a controlled discord has a certain place in true music), but it is also a richer and greater achievement than simple melody. Human differences may and should be the material for enrichment of the common life, and not the cause or occasion for its impoverishment by conflict. When we seek to discover ways in which the various groups comprised in the adult education movement may co-operate we need not ignore the fact that there are very marked differences between a W.E.A. class and a Labour College class, between these and a Church Tutorial

[1] Cf. Maxwell Garnett, *Education and World Citizenship*, pp. 310-316, 330; R. H. Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society*, pp. 227-237; *The Kingdom of God as the Regulative Christian Ideal* (pamphlet published by the Student Christian Movement, 1924); Copec Reports, especially Vol. I. on *The Nature and Purpose of God*, and Vol. XI. on *The Social Function of the Church*, etc. Cf. the Rev. H. R. L. Sheppard in *Education and Religion*, p. 221: "May I briefly suggest that at least one meaning of the phrase is a new civilisation based on God's values"—to which may be added what Dean E. A. Burroughs says elsewhere in the same book (p. 39): "Jesus Christ alone has given a value to the term 'God' which the human conscience everywhere endorses, and which all experience, intellectual and practical, confirms."

class or a King's Weigh House class, between all four and a Catholic Social Guild study club, or again between an Adult School or a Y.M.C.A. and all the others. Constructive thought will not attempt to eliminate the differences or to underrate the forces that created and that sustain the W.E.A., the Plebs League, the Adult School Movement, or the Y.M.C.A., the Church of England, the Free Churches, and the Roman Catholic Church. Neither can find due expression in terms of another. But in so far as each has a spiritual element and a spiritual objective they are in fact akin, and any fruitful co-operation between them will depend upon their retaining their distinctiveness while abandoning their attitude of aloofness or, if it exists, of root-and-branch antagonism to others. Similarly, if we plead for better trained and equipped leadership in the adult education movement, especially within the Churches, we do not thereby attack the democratic principle which is the very life of adult education. And when we point to the necessity of a clear and adequate policy regarding adult education, again particularly on the part of the Churches, we do not even suggest that this could or should be uninfluenced by the characteristic polity and method of each of these great branches of the Christian family ; it may be inept or even meaningless to talk in all but the most general terms of a policy to be shaped and pursued by " the Church," but each of the Churches can have a policy differing in details from that of other Churches, and yet based upon fundamental considerations common to all. The foundation principle of unity in difference must rule us here as elsewhere. " The many-coloured wisdom " is revealed in its fulness by the study of divers " subjects," as we have already seen. But the prism through which we discern the manifold elements in white light, and perhaps as a result choose one or two of these for special investigation, is triangular. We could not make our analysis by means of a flat piece of plate-glass. And, to vary the analogy slightly, it is because a diamond has many clear-cut facets that it makes common daylight tremulous with vivid life. Our subjective differences as

groups of students are as important for the elucidation of truth, the appreciation of beauty, and the achievement of goodness, as are the objective differences between the aspects of reality which we select for study.

The main problems which emerge from all that we have said about adult education in the Churches and kindred or comprehensive organisations are those of co-operation, leadership, and adequate policy. It is to these that our remaining chapters [1] will be devoted. But in dealing with them from the standpoint of bodies which either take religion definitely into their purview or are constituted specifically as organs of religious life we shall necessarily consider also the bodies which maintain a " neutral " position.

First of all, then, we are confronted by the question of co-operation. Any body of people charged with the duty of enquiring into the progress of adult education and recommending ways of facilitating it will come very quickly face to face with this.[2] The tidy mind of officialdom, or a morbid love of elaborating comprehensive schemes into which everything that is to be approved must be accurately fitted, might be thought discoverable here. In point of fact, co-operation is urged because no one organisation can hope to meet the whole need in either its volume or its variety, and also because organisations which try to work in isolation invariably lack quality. It is the latter danger that is the more often overlooked, and it arises when any movement is either so ambitious that it dissipates its resources by spreading them too widely, or so self-satisfied that it will not avail itself of help from others in performing a task which may be unquestionably its own but for which it is not fully equipped. What the Churches, like other organisations,

[1] Other than those containing the results of detailed enquiry into the existing adult educational work of the Churches.

[2] Cf. Ministry of Reconstruction Committee's *Final Report*, §§ 316-322, pp. 162-165, and Board of Education Adult Education Committee's Report on *Co-operation*. Cf. also the British Institute of Adult Education Commission's Report on *The Guildhouse*, and the University College of Nottingham Commission's Report on *The Educational Possibilities of Village Clubs*.

miss by neglecting co-operation in the work of adult education is far more than economy and efficiency of effort. It is the chance of gaining to the full that power to acquire and apply a true standard of spiritual values for which they exist.[1]

In making our detailed survey of adult education among Churches and kindred organisations we have had occasion to note, in passing, a few instances of co-operation. These have in some cases been for a special purpose. On the whole, however, we have not observed any general adoption of co-operation either as a definite policy on the part of the churches and kindred organisations within a particular district, or as an effective arrangement between these [2] and such neutral or official educational bodies as the W.E.A., the Local Education Authority, and the University. There is a great deal of help given by individual members of one organisation to the work of another with which also they happen to sympathise. Members of university tutorial classes, adult schools, Y.M.C.A.'s, and Educational Settlements who are also members of churches are numerous. But an even more forceful illustration is supplied by those who are members both of Labour Colleges and of churches, because it is not realised that there are many such, and still more because, when their existence is realised, it is often thought to be an anomaly and no connection is remarked between their two loyalties.[3] An overlapping in member-

[1] This is the more so because conflict of ideas is part of the process of evaluation. As Miss M. P. Follett observes: "The confronting of diverse interests each claiming right of way leads us to evaluate our interests, and evaluation is often evolved into revaluation; not in the sense that sour grapes hang high, or that a *pis aller* must be accepted, but a genuine revaluation. It also draws into the field of attention other values which otherwise might not be taken into account, for our choice is a choice of activities in which all the values have a stake." *Creative Experience* (1924), p. 171.

[2] With the exception of Educational Settlements and a number of adult schools.

[3] One has heard it said by more than one member of the Plebs League that he belongs to it because he believes in the Kingdom of God.

ship of this kind, however, results not only in getting more work done, but in getting it better done. Such unofficial interpenetration is valuable, too, because it makes for mutual understanding between the organisations with which such workers are connected, and thus prepares the way for concerted effort. But obviously the extent and effects of such individual and personal co-operation cannot be estimated with any accuracy, or used with certainty as a factor in the development of co-operation on a larger scale.

Again, there are many more instances of co-operation between the various organisations with which we are dealing than those quoted in our survey. These, however, appear to be sporadic and local. At the same time they serve to illustrate possible types of co-operation. This fact suggests that perhaps the best way of approach to this question will be to note successively the various ways in which churches, kindred organisations and neutral educational bodies have worked together, so far as actual available records give us the necessary information, and to ask whether these experiments point the way to a more general policy.

In dealing with co-operation of every type (excepting, for obvious reasons, that in which a university or college is involved) it is desirable to take the town or the small district as our unit. Whatever degree of goodwill may exist between the respective headquarters of various Churches, inter-Church bodies, and kindred or neutral organisations, and however loudly and frequently these may declare their adhesion to the principle of co-operation, nothing really happens except as that principle (or some programme based upon it and issued by these headquarters) is put into practice by individual churches, societies, branches and groups in local communities. Indeed there is much to be said for the view taken by Miss Follett in her book *The New State*.[1] Her argument is that a true democracy can be achieved in the life of the State only as it works upward from the actual attainment of it in a great number of little "neighbourhood groups," scattered

[1] Third impression (1920). Cf. also *Creative Experience*.

all over the country. We need enter upon no controversy as to whether co-operation in adult education should begin from the top or from the bottom. The preaching of it from the top may stimulate the practice of it at the bottom ; but only local experiment will give substance to national policy.[1]

There is likewise no need to dwell upon either the principle or the practice of co-operation as between churches of the same denomination or branches of the same society. In all of those with which we are concerned an effective national organisation has been developed for general, as distinguished from specifically educational, purposes. The drawback in some cases is that they have not yet applied this machinery to the promotion of adult education within their own borders, or, if they have done that, they have not co-ordinated adult education with their other activities. It also remains true, unfortunately, that churches of the same denomination situated in close proximity to each other, or local groups belonging to the same movement and similarly circumstanced, rarely co-operate actively with each other, though each acknowledges a bond with all the other units of the denomination or movement by reason of common affiliation to the centre, if on no other ground. So curiously constituted is human nature, however, that it is often by co-operation with other societies quite different in kind that two of the same are drawn into fruitful relationships between themselves.

It may appear that the real difficulties in developing co-operation among the Churches themselves arise when the attempt is made to unite churches of different denominations in a common educational effort. These difficulties are found in practice to be by no means insuperable. But until the Churches demonstrate on a much greater scale their ability to co-operate among themselves for strictly educational

[1] Co-operation in summer schools, short training courses, etc., of course lies between the national type of co-operation and the local, and, like co-operation in publishing, should really be treated as presuming both national *and* local co-operation. The same is true of co-operative finance.

purposes they will find even kindred, and certainly neutral, educational organisations shy of co-operating with them. The effort was made to show, at the beginning of this book, that Biblical, theological, and related studies can be pursued with as much independence of sectarian controversy as a university tutorial class, let us say in economics or in the theory of government, maintains with respect to party politics.[1] Indeed, not only is the mere suppression of convictions on these matters or the endeavour to dessicate them and to make them into lifeless abstractions or jejune academicisms a fatal mistake, but any group will find its discussions all the richer and more practical if it contains members who take different standpoints, but who are at one in seeking truth. This is becoming a truism among the Churches which have any life in them. Yet in this respect churches have still to convince ordinary members of a tutorial class, an adult school, or an Educational Settlement, that it is possible to meet for the study of Christianity with no more fear of partisan wrangling or attempted proselytism than arises in a class in economics containing both representatives of Capital and representatives of Labour, or a class in political theory comprising members of the Conservative, the Liberal, and the Labour parties respectively. Till they have done so they can hardly expect to persuade the average adult student that even the Old Testament is susceptible of anything but propagandist treatment—an attitude which seemed unquestionably normal and natural to a W.E.A. district secretary with whom the present writer recently had a conversation on the subject. While that kind of misconception remains, co-operation is naturally not regarded as feasible. It is even more indisputable that to the lack of constructive and educational co-operation by the Churches themselves has been due the maintenance by the State of the illogical restriction by which until very recently a class

[1] The Vacation Term and the Vacation Week for Biblical Study exemplify this principle very fully, and also afford a valuable example of co-operation between leading members of the Anglican, Free, and Roman Catholic Churches. Cf. pp. 233 f., 236 *infra*.

in Buddhism, Mohammedanism, or Hinduism might be "recognised" and receive grant—but not a class in Christianity, whether historically or philosophically treated![1]

How this is to be remedied is no matter for dogmatic assertion. The change will not be accomplished easily or quickly. But there is no reason why it should not be developed quite naturally. We may take as a particularly appropriate example the most advanced work thus far attempted among adults by a Church. When the Church Tutorial Class movement began it was specifically for the purpose of meeting a need that had been felt within the Church of England. For reasons of unquestionable validity from the standpoint of that Church the originators of the classes, legislating for their own religious communion, laid down a rule that tutors must be members of the Church of England. This was not because of any sectarian prejudice or fears, but primarily because it was rightly held that no one can teach a subject if he has not that enthusiasm for it which, in the case of the Bible and similar fields of study, implies a genuine religious faith. The fallacy, to the mind of the present writer, lies in supposing that this is guaranteed by subscription to the formulary of one sect of Christians rather than another. Now, however, there is a stirring of interest among the Free Churches. The obvious suggestion was made that the Church Tutorial Classes movement should

[1] *E.g.* a few years ago the University of London refused to recognise a tutorial class in "The Philosophy of Religion," taught by a layman who was a fellow of an Oxford College, the refusal presumably being because no grant would be obtainable, under Board of Education regulations. Recently a one-year class in the Comparative Study of Religions, conducted at an Evening Institute, was approved with respect to all the lectures on non-Christian religions, but the single lecture on Christianity which formed a necessary part of the quite objective treatment of the general subject was disallowed for the purposes of recognition and grant. But the fault is with the Churches, which have made all study of religion so much a matter of perpetual inter-Church controversy that the State has had scarcely any option; it has been compelled either to refuse recognition or to risk being charged, quite falsely but with dire effect, with subsidising sectarian teaching out of public money.

be made interdenominational, and that the requirement with regard to tutors should be that they must belong to *a* Christian Church, without specifying which. This would have certain advantages ; for example, in a given area there might be a prospective tutor among the Free Churches admittedly better qualified in knowledge and teaching ability than any that could be found among the Anglicans. This solution, however, is not at present possible. For domestic reasons the Church Tutorial Class movement is compelled to adhere to its rule. But those responsible for it would in no sense regard similar classes organised by the Free Churches as rivals. They would rather look upon them as another wing of the same movement. In any event, there is no restriction with respect to *membership* of a Church Tutorial Class, and there would presumably be none in the case of a Free Church class. Moreover, there is not only no restriction with regard to membership of the training courses for tutors which are now being organised by the C.T.C. movement, but, as these are not in themselves Church Tutorial Classes, there is no reason why Free Church scholars should not participate in them as lecturers. Indeed, the short intensive course at King's College, London, in the autumn of 1924, was arranged by the Old Testament Society and the C.T.C. movement in conjunction with the College on these lines, for membership of the Old Testament Society is open to all.[1]

The first step in co-operation on the part of the Free Churches would thus be to get a movement of their own afoot. When this is done, ministers and clergy may fittingly encourage members of their congregations to attend the nearest available class, whether organised by the Church of England, with a Churchman as tutor, or organised by the Free Churches, presumably, but in this case not necessarily, with a Free Churchman as tutor. Even before this there may be an opening for co-operation in organising courses for prospective tutors, since the experience of the C.T.C. movement appears to suggest that greater progress will be made by

[1] Cf. pp. 340 f. *infra.*

providing special courses for the type of men and women who may ultimately become tutors, and whose growing enthusiasm for the movement will make them eager to recruit ordinary classes, than by attempting in the first instance to form a large number of tutorial classes.

However this may be, the fundamental point is that co-operation may involve independent effort and does not involve indiscriminate merging of work. If the Free Churches do establish classes of their own, it is practically certain that the two movements would ultimately federate for mutual counsel and support, while each retained the features that made it most suitable for dealing with its own particular constituency. And if that federation were achieved, is it not probable that the Catholic Study Club movement, which has already manifested its liberal attitude in other respects [1] and which is so closely related to the Catholic Workers' College (whose policy of co-operation with the University of Oxford has already been mentioned) [2] would be ready to federate on similar terms ? There should be every reason to hope that in course of time—and perhaps before long—a small co-operative and advisory council might be established for the purpose of bringing together the movements specially concerned with this kind of work, without in the least interfering with their autonomy. And if such action were taken it would not mean that these bodies, thus banded together, had emphasised their separation from others such as the Adult Schools, the W.E.A., or the Educational Settlements. They would rather be in a better position to take their due share in a still more comprehensive development of mutual counsel and complementary activity.

One very practical consideration regarding all such possible developments in federation is that they spring out of good work done by separate movements : they are not a starting-point but a goal, towards which the organisations concerned find themselves inevitably moving as they do their own work in their own way. A second is that all these different ways of doing the work are wanted, and that to

[1] Cf. p. 70 *supra*, p. 277 *infra*. [2] Cf. p. 70 *supra*.

continue in them is not a barrier to co-operation but the very basis of it, provided that the spirit of co-operation, a readiness for mutual recognition and for interchange of help just so far as this may prove possible, is present.

It would be foolish to try to set down all the mutual advantages that would accrue if such co-operation were effected. Some of them appear on the surface—the provision of training courses for tutors, the interchange of experience as to methods, the development of library facilities, the unity of approach to universities and theological colleges which could supply assistance in various directions, an organ for dealing with statutory Education Authorities and with the Board itself. But the most important would lie deeper—a true sense of fellowship in one great department of study, a cumulative force of educational influence among the Churches, a clear demonstration to "secular" bodies that in this field of education as in others love of truth is greater than the variety of methods by which truth is sought.

The training of Sunday School Teachers and the development of the Missionary Education movement are the two outstanding illustrations of local co-operation on the part of the Churches for the purposes of adult education, and even then it has been rather a coming together of enthusiasts from different congregations than conjoint action on the part of the Churches themselves, while, generally speaking, the credal barriers between the Roman, Anglican, and Free Churches have been maintained. In this last-named matter, national co-operation as represented by the United Council for Missionary Education, the Interdenominational Conference of Social Service Unions, and the preparations for the 1924 Conference on Politics, Economics and Citizenship, has outdistanced local. Members of Church Tutorial Classes have in one or two cases been recruited from parishes adjoining those in which the classes were initiated. But one does not hear of a Ruri-decanal Conference or a Free Church Council [1]

[1] The Newcastle-upon-Tyne Training School, cited in Section 4, pp. 347 ff. *infra*, is one of a very few exceptional cases.

establishing regular educational work—still less of the two combining for the purpose.

It is in teacher-training, however, that, in another sense, the widest co-operation of all has been achieved, inasmuch as for this purpose a joint arrangement has in several cases been effected not only between churches but also with outside bodies such as Educational Settlements, Colleges, and Universities. Illustrations will be found elsewhere, drawn from experience in Nottingham, Liverpool, Leeds, Manchester, Southampton, Hull, and other towns.[1] In some instances the Churches have made a united approach to the University, College, or Educational Settlement whose help they sought. In others, the latter have taken the initiative in providing courses for which they had reason to suppose there was a desire among Sunday School teachers and other Church workers. The result has been satisfactory from the standpoint of both parties.

Among other defects in the present system of training day-school teachers (both primary and secondary) for their profession is the failure of most training colleges and courses to include either the Bible or methods of teaching it in their curriculum. Yet in the schools the teachers have to give religious instruction in one form or another. Lack of proper equipment is one of the greatest reasons, though not the most frequently quoted, for reluctance to discharge this duty. Consequently many day-school teachers have rejoiced in the provision made by co-operation between churches or religious organisations and educational bodies for the study, under competent and non-sectarian guidance, of the Old and New Testaments, of the period of history between the two, of Prophecy and Apocalyptic, the Synoptic Portrait of Jesus, the World in the time of St. Paul, and so forth, as well as of educational psychology and pedagogy in relation to such subjects. Co-operation has in this way made possible a very real public service. It may be said that it is the duty of the State or the Local Education Authority to provide all this for the professional teacher,

[1] Cf. pp. 416 ff. *infra*.

whatever the Churches may do for Sunday School teachers, who are in the main amateurs. This may be true, but in practice the official provision is not made or is inadequate. Sectarianism has done more than anything else to bring about this condition of affairs. As a result, both day-schools and Sunday Schools have suffered terribly. Neither a "secular solution" nor "denominationalism," even in the training of teachers, is ever likely to be accepted as final or satisfactory, so long as the Churches exist on the one hand and public money is required for education on the other. There will always be a great number of people who want their children to learn at school something of the spiritual values enshrined in the Bible and revealed in Jesus Christ. It will always be, in any true and sound system of education, the business of the professional teacher to deal with these as much as with any other subject of instruction, inasmuch as all teaching has the same ultimate object—or should have if it accords with the principles elaborated at the beginning of this book. And there will always be teachers who desire to take their share in this part of the work. But they cannot unless they themselves possess not only an education, but a continued education, in it.[1]

The satisfaction of the needs of professional teachers in this respect may appear to lie outside the sphere of adult non-vocational education. We have given this amount of space to it for several reasons which will show the relevance of it to our own special subject of enquiry. Professional teachers form a considerable section of the student-membership in practically all existing branches of the adult education movement, and rightly so, for they of all people realise the need of turning ever afresh to the wellsprings of knowledge, wisdom, and culture. The subjects which these particular co-operative experiments have covered are not dealt with by "secular" or "neutral" adult educational

[1] Very valuable work for teachers has been done on an inter-denominational (though unofficial) basis by the Vacation Term and the Vacation Week for Biblical Study, described on pp. 231 ff. *infra*.

organisations, as a rule, yet they are definitely within the sphere of general education. On the other hand, the Churches, while they have so special and characteristic a contribution to make, are hindered to a great extent from doing so as individual denominations because adult students are shy of possible sectarianism. It is therefore a great gain that by co-operating one with another and with neutral educational organisations in the interests of Sunday School teachers they have been able to demonstrate along what lines the solution of a very difficult problem in the training of professional teachers may be found. It has been shown once more that adult students with common needs can cover together a great deal of ground without either ignoring or doing despite to the special preserves of this or that group within the community. Not only have the churches and religious bodies, by co-operating with university, college, or settlement, been able to prove that a "religious atmosphere" and unbiassed scholarship are not mutually destructive, but the educational organisations have been enabled through this same co-operation to function freely in a sphere which belongs to them of right, but in which they have so often been rendered powerless by the charge of either godlessness or partisanship.[1]

Efforts in the direction of co-operation between University Extension Boards and individual churches for the promotion of educational activity among the general adult membership of the Churches have been on the whole less successful. Some churches have found a widespread and sustained response on the part of their members. Others have experienced complete failure. The Extension Boards have been very willing to provide courses in any of the usual subjects on their lists, and have in some cases added special lectures and subjects to their panels in the hope that these would attract people connected with the churches or lead

[1] It is interesting to observe that this has now been put forward as a suggestion in the *Memorandum on Religious Education* issued (Nov. 1923) by a Committee of the Manchester Diocesan Conference. Cf. the Dean of Bristol's reference in *Education and Religion*, p. 243.

the churches to get together a sufficient number of students among themselves to justify the engagement of a lecturer. Here and there a very successful course arranged specifically by a church in co-operation with the Extension Board has resulted. But in general the efforts of the Boards have received little encouragement from the churches.[1] One very definite reason has been that of expense ; this has been a handicap to University Extension work in all its phases, and where there was difficulty in recruiting a sufficiently large audience from the general public to meet this without prohibitive fees, there would obviously be still greater difficulty in doing so within the narrower limits of one church, or even of two or three working together. This obstacle has been removed by the new Regulations issued by the Board of Education.[2] Then, too, it may be argued that University Extension courses should be organised for the district as a whole, and members of churches should join them just like other people. This is certainly true, and, as we shall urge more fully a little later, one duty of churches in the matter of co-operation is to endeavour to induce their members to join courses and classes organised quite outside the churches themselves, and to point out that this evinces a real loyalty to the church as well as to the life of the larger community. But there are two reasons for direct co-operation between churches and University Extension Boards in circumstances such as those of the successful instances described on another page.[3] The first is that members of a church may desire a course which is clearly of much greater interest to themselves than to the general public, and which the Boards can only be expected to provide if the church or churches will guarantee the necessary nucleus of students, even though the course will naturally be open to any of the public at large who desire to join it. The other is that adult students are most naturally and easily recruited along the lines of existing organisa-

[1] For accounts of experiments, and comments by organising secretaries, *vide* pp. 410-422 *infra*.

[2] Cf. pp. 151 f. *infra*.

[3] *Vide* pp. 316, 322, 420 *infra*.

tions. Just as the Co-operative Movement, or more recently the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee, has taken groups of people already associated for common interests of another kind and has arranged with official or voluntary educational organisations for special educational facilities to be provided for them, so the Churches may well do with their members. And, of course, while such co-operation with University Extension Boards is what we are considering, in the light of the particular evidence at our disposal, at the moment, it should be effected with other educational bodies as well. The instance of University Extension is but an illustration of a principle, and in fact many other applications of that principle would be more natural and easy. One danger attached to this form of co-operation is that students may miss the breadth of view that comes of meeting students drawn from quite different circumstances. This can be overcome only by such means as those to which we must refer later, involving possibility of contact between all sorts of educational groups in the community.[1]

All these successful experiments show how ready Universities, Colleges and Educational Settlements are to co-operate if the churches really desire it, and how valuable a service they can render to the churches if they are given the opportunity. No specific evidence is available with regard to Local Education Authorities in this connection, though it is more than possible that similar successful experiments have been made; the general attitude of many Directors of Education puts it beyond doubt that the L.E.A.'s would gladly play a similar part if asked. As will be seen later, some Directors of Education have already succeeded in bringing about closer co-operation between *all* the adult educational agencies in their respective areas. In the matter of co-operation on the part of churches, however, the main difficulty appears to be that the churches do not come together among themselves in order to define their common needs and make a joint approach to sources of supply.

[1] Cf. pp. 199 ff. 214 f. *infra.*

Local voluntary adult education committees or educational fellowships such as those at Maidstone, Croydon and Bristol, which are described in our survey,[1] are invariably found to contain representatives appointed by bodies akin to the Churches (Settlements, Adult Schools, Y.M.C.A., etc.) but rarely, if ever, members appointed by the churches as a group. The reason why the work described in the last few paragraphs was both attempted and successfully carried through was that bodies of people within the churches, already organised for the purpose of promoting fellowship and efficiency in Sunday School work, were there to stimulate and make vocal the demand for higher education on these lines. Yet surely, if Sunday School teachers are under a moral obligation to secure the best that can be obtained through universities, colleges, and other educational organisations for their enrichment and equipment as people charged with certain responsibilities for the lives of children, the Churches as a whole should realise similar responsibilities respecting the lives of their adult members, and should seek to co-operate with kindred bodies in endeavouring to obtain the best reinforcement possible from the Universities and statutory Education Authorities. Nevertheless, whether it is due to sheer apathy on the part of the churches, to ignorance among church people of the aims and functions of ordinary educational bodies, or to prejudice against bringing things " sacred " into relationship with things " secular," all the evidence goes to show that despite advances on the part of specifically educational bodies, voluntary and official, there is little inclination among the churches to co-operate in any effective way. Some even exhibit a tendency to regard such organisations as Y.M.C.A., Adult Schools, or Settlements as rivals. There is practically no relationship between churches and the W.E.A. There are, of course, happy exceptions, as our survey shows,[2] but these are lamentably few. The encouragement given by the Catholic Social Guild Study Clubs, the Church of England Men's Society, and the Industrial Christian Fellowship to their

[1] *Vide* p. 424 ff. *infra.*

[2] *Vide* pp. 306, 422 *infra.*

members to join the W.E.A. classes must be accounted to the Churches for righteousness in this matter.[1] But, after all, this is a policy pursued by societies which had their origin within the Churches, rather than one adopted by the Churches themselves.

A not unlikely rejoinder to comments of the kind which this situation is apt to elicit from disappointed leaders in these and other movements is that all the people connected with churches who are really interested in such activities as those promoted by University Extension Committees or W.E.A. Branches already participate therein as private individuals. It may therefore be argued that no special co-operation between churches as such and ordinary adult educational organisations is needed, or is even desirable. But this overlooks several considerations of importance.

First of all churches should surely stimulate the desire for educational facilities on the part of their members more fully. As we have observed, that stimulus comes largely through the provision of such facilities in a form that appeals to these particular people, but it is admitted that churches by themselves, individually and in groups, often have not the resources which will enable them to do this. Co-operation with bodies which have is therefore their plain duty.

But, further, the subjects offered by such bodies, and offered because they are most in demand by their particular constituencies, are not always what people in the churches want. Individual church people find it difficult to create an effective demand for the studies in which they are specially interested, and it is clearly for the churches to focus and express this need ; people within the churches often do not realise that these other bodies could and would help, and so do not turn to them. On the other hand, if the churches so co-operated with these other agencies as to bring about the provision of facilities for the study of such subjects, probably many people outside the churches would also avail themselves of those facilities. And conversely the churches,

[1] Cf. pp. 270, 273, 295 f.

while stimulating their people to take up many studies outside the ordinary church field—studies for which other bodies make excellent provision—should themselves be providing opportunities for the study of their own special subjects which would be utilised by students mobilised through other organisations.

In fact, if the Churches desire to take their place as an agency in that fellowship of intellectual, moral, and spiritual advance which we describe as Education, they must integrate their own work with that of other agencies. That responsibility for failure in co-operation cannot, generally speaking, be laid at the doors of the universities and other educational bodies seems clear from the evidence.[1] These bodies have been willing to take up not only the more advanced Biblical, or more deeply theological, but also the most practical subjects. They have taken the greatest pains to find specially suitable lecturers and tutors—in many cases going to the ranks of clergy, ministers, and lay members of churches who are educationally qualified for the work. And they are also ready to arrange that courses shall be held under whatever conditions of time and place may best suit the people concerned.[2]

A very notable advance has now been made by the Board of Education in the new regulations for grant in aid of adult education which became operative in August 1924.[3] So important in principle are these, and so well calculated to strengthen and develop the movement in a variety of ways,

[1] Cf. pp. 409 ff. *infra.*

[2] The Master of the Temple (the Rev. W. H. Draper, M.A.) makes a strong plea for "re-establishing on a new basis a connection between the Theological, Historical, and Philosophical Faculties in our Universities, and the widespread organisations of Religion in the country at large." He points out that "churches and chapels want filling, and people are ready to fill them not only to worship but to learn." He suggests a local committee that would bring buildings, people, and university together. *University Extension*, 1873-1923, pp. 115-116.

[3] *Education Act*, 1921; *Grant Regulations No.* 33 (1924); *Board of Education (Adult Education) Regulations*, 1924.

that at least a chapter would be needed to outline the possibilities which they open up. But we must be content to touch upon the points particularly relevant to our present discussion, and upon these mainly as they affect co-operation between the Churches, kindred and neutral bodies, the Universities, the Local Education Authorities and the Board.

First, then, it is recognised, and indeed insisted upon, that financial aid should as far as possible be sought from and given by Local Education Authorities, which are in close contact with the actual work, and can assess its educational value more easily than can the Central Authority. This is especially true in the case of that more elementary and informal type of work which varies so widely in accordance with local conditions and is yet so important a factor in the extension of the movement. The Board, of course, takes all such grants, made by Local Authorities, into account when determining the grant, up to fifty per cent. of the approved net expenditure of the Local Authorities, which it in turn makes to them. But where it is at present impossible to secure due assistance from Local Authorities the Board is prepared, during the next five years, to make direct grants in aid to the Associations (being national organisations or district branches of these) approved by it as Responsible Bodies for the control and direction of such work. The standard required and the conditions to be fulfilled are, of course, indicated in the Regulations.

Then for the first time the Board promises direct grant in aid of University Extension Courses, and bases the assessment, not upon the number of people who merely hear the lectures, but upon regular attendance and good work in class on the part of a comparatively small number of enrolled students. Inasmuch as churches and other bodies have so often been unable to undertake a university extension course because they could not secure the regular audience of two, three, or four hundred people required in order to raise the amount of money which the course would cost, the importance of this provision is obvious. Moreover, the new arrange-

ment gives effective encouragement to real study as against mere dilettante listening to lectures.

But the most striking and statesmanlike point of all, from the standpoint of the problem which we have had under consideration, is a modification of the general rule covering all Board of Education grants to adult classes. Hitherto this has been that the Board could in no circumstances consider making a grant towards classes in subjects dealing with religion. In the new Regulations we find the following among the clauses defining courses (from University Tutorial Classes downwards) not eligible for grant :

"Courses of instruction in religious subjects, *without prejudice however to the recognition of Courses which aim at the scientific study of the documents, history or philosophy of religion.*"[1]

This is an admirably conceived solution of a difficulty which has for so long been fatal to official recognition of the study of religion for what it is—a legitimate and indispensable part of any system of adult education worthy of the name. It gives Local Education Authorities a lead which they will without doubt readily follow. It encourages the Universities to complete in this respect the help that they can give to adult students. It challenges "neutral" bodies, like the W.E.A., to organise classes in *all* cultural subjects which students express a desire to pursue. It offers to the Churches and kindred organisations the opportunity of putting this part of their educational work on as favourable a basis as any other part of the adult education movement.

No doubt there will even now be found critics who object to the granting of public money towards the study of religion even in this objective form, and will persist in harking back to the embittered controversies over religious teaching in the schools. To such it may be pointed out that the school problem is not insoluble, and that greater progress towards the solution of it would be made if the matter were left to teachers and educational administrators on the one hand,

[1] Chapter I. Section 2 (e) of the Regulations.

and on the other to acknowledged leaders of the Churches who can distinguish between essential religion and the traditional phrases in which belief has been formulated. The very valuable *Syllabus*, with its brilliant Introduction on "The Teaching of Religion" and its striking addenda, lately issued by the Cambridgeshire Education Committee, indicates what is possible when the whole question is lifted above the level of polite concordats and guarded compromises to that of a concern for education animated by a sense of spiritual values.[1] But in point of fact it is almost entirely irrelevant to quote the struggle over the schools as a precedent in dealing with grants to adult classes in controversial subjects. There is a real difference between teaching Biblical and related subjects to adults and teaching the same subjects to children—not because the teaching need be more sectarian in the case of children than in that of adults, but because in adult education you have a group of mature people, of independent mind and judgment, who come together to study a given subject under the guidance of a qualified tutor whose business it is to see that they acquaint themselves with all relevant facts and points of view, but to leave them to shape their own conclusions.[2]

[1] *The Cambridgeshire Syllabus of Religious Teaching for Schools* (1924). Cf. also Syllabus of Religious Instruction issued by the Educational Department of the County Council of the West Riding of Yorkshire, in the "General Principles" set forth as a preface to which it is said that "No education can be complete which omits religion. . . . For the whole outlook on life, for inward harmony, for a just estimate of the work of personality, for mastery over the world, the realisation of the Unseen and the consciousness of fellowship with it have proved incomparable in value." Cf. *Times Educational Supplement*, February 23, 1923. As a concrete example of the way in which the study of religion, as an educational activity, can and should be pursued by adult students Major J. W. Povah's *A Study of the Old Testament* (1924) may be cited. Major Povah is General Secretary of the Church Tutorial Class Movement, a layman, a Bachelor of Divinity in honours, and a C.T.C. tutor. His book embodies a course of lectures given to Church Tutorial Classes.

[2] It is interesting to note that Cardinal Bourne made a similar distinction when insisting, in his Pastoral Letter for Lent 1923, on

There may, on the other hand, be critics who will say that the new Regulations do not go far enough, and will cite the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, which, after a very thorough discussion of the subject, definitely made the recommendation that :

" The State should not refuse financial support to institutions, colleges and classes merely on the ground that they have a particular 'atmosphere,' or appeal specially to students of a particular type. All that they ought to ask is that they be concerned with serious study." [1]

This position goes beyond, and includes, our present point with regard to subjects, and it would justify, as it was meant to do, grants in aid of Church Tutorial Classes, Catholic Social Guild Study Clubs, or N.C.L.C. classes (the last two of which, at any rate, the W.E.A. would condemn as propagandist !).[2] It was intended as an answer to those who consider that no public assistance should be given to work *organised* by a body committed to sectarian views in religion or politics, because it is supposed that their educational

the necessity of full Catholic instruction in *schools*. Cf. *Times Educational Supplement*, February 17, 1923. At the National Roman Catholic Conference in Birmingham, on Aug. 3, 1923, His Eminence dismissed the idea of a Catholic University, espoused by Cardinal Manning, because the doors of Oxford and Cambridge are now widely open to Roman Catholic clergy and laity, but suggested the foundation of a Catholic Faculty of Theology, in close contact with, but full independence of, Oxford, Cambridge, or both. *The Times*, Aug. 4, 1923. *The Tablet*, Aug. 11, 1923.

[1] *Final Report*, p. 172, § 337c. See also p. 118, § 215 ; p. 175, § 341 f.

[2] *Vide The Highway* for December, 1922. Prof. J. H. Muirhead, in a paper on " The Place of Voluntary Associations in a State System of Adult Education," read to the W.E.A. at its Coming-of-Age Convention at Oxford, July 13, 1924, says of the Labour Colleges : " I do not see any reason to oppose such developments. Granted that as propagating agencies they are not educating in our sense, yet, like other forms of dogmatic teaching, they may lead on to it. They lead, at any rate, to where education may be found. What economic, like other dogmas, chiefly require at the present time is rope. Give them rope and they will sooner or later hang themselves as a dogma and rise to something better. Under certain conditions

aims will necessarily be vitiated by their sectarian loyalties. But that Committee held the only remedy for partial knowledge to be more knowledge. Moreover, its recommendation was adequately safeguarded, for inspection similar to that of university tutorial classes is accepted by it as the natural and necessary accompaniment of grant. Such inspection would be concerned, not with the opinions of either tutor or students, but with the competence of the one and the quality of the work done by the others. Competence and seriousness involve the thoroughness that takes full account of facts and looks fairly at both sides of a question, whatever may be the position taken by either tutor or students before or after the course.

The point at issue in this larger reference is not primarily a political one. So far as the schools are concerned it has been made so to an entirely disproportionate extent. The dispute has often turned upon the right of a group of ratepayers or taxpayers to have their children taught this or that system of beliefs in schools maintained wholly or in part out of rates and taxes. No doubt this question of grants to certain types of adult class (and the principle, be it observed, touches far more than those in " religious " subjects) might be argued on this ground. But such treatment of it would be even more superficial than in the case of the schools. Fundamentally the matter is a philosophical one. The philosophy of education is concerned, and this we have made some attempt to discuss. There is also the philosophy of the State to be taken into account, and particularly that of the proper relation of co-operation between the State and those multitudinous groups which, in one aspect possessing their several rights and limitations as entities over against the State, are in another but the living stuff of which it is

I should be prepared to give them State recognition in order to make their teaching as thorough and efficient as possible—in the sure conviction that only make the most dogmatic of teaching thorough enough, and it is sure to turn into something else." He then says that he would apply the conclusion of the 1919 Report, quoted above, to Labour Colleges.

made up.[1] But still another element which must not be overlooked is the philosophy of controversy, especially in relation to the philosophy of education and the philosophy of the State. This has never yet been thoroughly examined. It is a field of investigation which urgently needs to be explored. Until it has been, we shall not arrive at a sound basis for that co-operation between the State and the adult education movement wherein, as James Hole observed two generations ago,[2] the chief function of the State must inevitably be that of finding money for work demonstrated to be sound and valuable educationally. If the history of adult education has proved anything at all, it is that the subjects of study which are most in demand among adults are controversial subjects, but that controversy in an adult class is not the same thing as propaganda on the part of the tutor; nor does it mean that the students join the class with closed minds, and persistently refuse to look at any facts or theories put before them except as additional confirmation of their previous attachments and antipathies. Controversy, in short, is an element in all true education, an avenue to truth; and no subject closely related to life is without some element of controversy. The test of the adult student's progress, and supremely of the competency of his teacher, is the use that he makes of controversy.[3]

[1] In this connection Dean Burroughs has lately written: "The State (in the old sense of πόλις) not only exists to make a more human life more and more available, but depends for survival upon its citizens being and remaining human. To this end neither education nor religion alone is sufficient. It is the combination of the two that gives the formula of social welfare, a kind of welfare only possible to man; and the two together should therefore be a concern of any far-seeing State." *Education and Religion*, pp. 29, 233. But the problem in the philosophy of the State referred to above is, of course, that of safeguarding equally the rights of groups within it which differ on this very point.

[2] *Mechanics' Institutes*, pp. 93-101: "All the aid that Government can lend to Adult Education is to afford it opportunities."

[3] Cf. Mr. G. H. Thompson, Secretary of the Yorkshire District of the W.E.A., at the British Institute of Adult Education Conference at Cambridge, Sept. 1923: "We all know that it is the claim of the

Meantime it is difficult to suppose that the wise step taken by the Board of Education will not suffice to remove many practical difficulties and to stimulate a truer conception of the place that the study of religion should occupy in adult education.

A consideration of minor value, inasmuch as it involves no principle, but yet of considerable practical importance in promoting co-operation between churches and kindred organisations on the one hand and statutory educational bodies on the other, is that regulations made by Local Education Authorities must be such as can be fulfilled with reasonable ease. Many of these regulations have been drafted with ordinary continuation or technical classes in view. Attendance at these is indeed voluntary, but it is

adult education movement that it influences public opinion, that it makes less likely the happening of certain mistakes in politics. So one thing the L.E.A. will have to bear in mind is that adult education, in order to be of real service, must deal with controversial topics. This is not true of elementary or secondary education, but it is true of adult education. Therefore it is not safe to assume that that class is doing the best work which has a tutor who never himself takes part in politics, and which is composed of students who also never take part in politics—of students who have only this preference, that they would rather attend class than stop at home. In my opinion, unless we can attract to our classes those who are active in political and social work the influence of our adult education will be small. We need not be under the illusion that in catering for the purely student type we are helping forward a movement, or helping anything in particular. We can only help forward the solution of our public difficulties when we can get hold of those who are taking part in the rough and tumble of affairs.

"But after all there is a distinction between education and propaganda. I have been a Parliamentary candidate myself, and have been a good deal in politics, and I do know that when you are on a political platform fighting an election you have to make assertions dogmatically. But I believe that every propagandist does need some opportunities of revising his own opinions, and he does not get these in political, trade union, or co-operative work. He can only get these opportunities in classes where there is the right atmosphere, and where the questions which interest him most are approached in a spirit of inquiry rather than in a spirit of assertion." Report (*Adult Education and the Local Education Authority*), pp. 20-21.

usually the outcome of a vocational purpose, and the subjects taken are in such demand that large classes are the rule. The situation is different in the case of most classes organised by churches or kindred bodies, and while there is the same need to secure regularity of attendance and a sufficiently large group of students to justify the spending of the public money on the provision of a teacher, the scale on which requirements of this kind are calculated should be suitably adjusted. Here again the Board's new Regulations offer an admirable example. In practice the matter affects such organisations as the Y.M.C.A. or the Y.W.C.A.,[1] Adult Schools or Educational Settlements, rather than churches, between which and Local Education Authorities there is at present so little co-operation that it is practically negligible. But much more might be accomplished in connection with churches also, if this difficulty did not occur. Local Authorities are often willing to supply a teacher for a class of adults organised by any voluntary body, or to make a grant towards the teacher's fee if the teacher appointed is one whom the Authority can approve. But the Authority sometimes does not understand the inevitable difficulties by which such efforts are attended, and demands fulfilment of conditions applicable enough in other circumstances, but fatal in these. The difficulty can often be removed by closer personal contact between the responsible people on both sides. But again it becomes evident that the whole situation would be easier to deal with if the churches co-operated among themselves and with other voluntary bodies in their approach to the Local Education Authorities. The Authorities are growing in sympathy with the educational efforts made by all sorts of organisations within their areas ; with increased mutual understanding it will be realised that Local Education Authorities for the most part desire genuinely to co-operate, and neither to discourage nor to control those who are endeavouring to develop adult education among people whom official provision will never attract ; but a Borough or County Education Committee must

[1] Cf. pp. 150 ff. *supra.*

necessarily preserve a sense of reponsibility in its administration of public funds. One of the most helpful forms of co-operation with an Education Authority that churches and kindred bodies can practise is that of helping to mould public opinion in favour of a progressive policy of education. Behind the Education Committee stands the Council, and behind each Councillor is a body of ratepayers. What more need be said ?

It is unnecessary at this point to dwell upon the kind and extent of co-operation between Adult Schools and Educational Settlements, Y.M.C.A.'s, or Churches ; Settlements and Universities, Local Authorities, and voluntary organisations ; Y.M.C.A.'s and Churches or L.E.A.'s ; and so forth. There is undoubtedly a certain amount of this taking place (varying, of course, in different districts) ; but to be fully effective *all* such bodies need to be brought together on a community basis. This raises the question of how all the forces of adult education in a town or district can most effectively be brought into a co-operative partnership. The special contribution made in this direction by Educational Settlements has already been indicated, and will be more fully considered as we proceed.[1]

When we come to co-operation between the organisations akin to the Churches, other voluntary organisations, and statutory bodies, we find that this is brought about in various ways.[2] Sometimes an existing voluntary organisation will suggest to all the others a council of adult education ; sometimes a Local Education Authority will invite the voluntary bodies to set up a joint Committee ; in one instance a University College has definitely set out to secure representation of all effectively co-operating bodies on the Committee of its Adult Education Department ; and however an Educational Settlement is started, one of its first efforts is to establish co-operative relationships with all local forms of adult education. Naturally the results vary ; in some cases they amount to little more than an exchange of information, the avoidance of overlapping, the issue of a

[1] Cf. pp. 199 ff. *infra.* [2] *Vide* pp. 416 ff. *infra.*

joint programme. In others an active federation is set up, reinforcing all the autonomous bodies that are members of it, and *as a federation* either filling gaps in the local provision for adult education by its own action, or getting appropriate existing bodies to do so. Illustrations of these different types have been drawn, for the purposes of our survey, from Maidstone, Croydon, Bradford, Bristol and Nottingham, and are described further on.[1]

One other specific form of co-operation demands mention, namely, that of churches and kindred organisations with libraries. Much depends, in any given locality, upon the Librarian's conception of the function of a public library on the one hand, and upon the enterprise of churches and other agencies of adult education with regard to the use they make of the available facilities on the other. There is a growing desire on the part of Public Librarians to serve every interest in the community to which the library belongs, and to make the library itself the natural centre of all the liberal culture of the place. How great an educational influence is exercised by a well-organised and well-directed library is at once made evident by such figures as those to be found in the most recent Report of the Croydon Public Libraries Committee. These show that in one year 606,711 volumes were issued to a population of 192,000 people, that of these 606,711 no fewer than 62 per cent. were non-fiction, and that of the remaining 38 per cent. the greater part were standard fiction (*i.e.* books by such writers as Thackeray, George Eliot, or Dickens).[2] Most Librarians are glad to

[1] *Vide* pp. 424 ff. *infra.*

[2] Cf. *Annual Report* of the Croydon Borough Libraries Committee for 1923. A similar statement was recently made by the Librarian of the Manchester Public Libraries after an analysis of issues had been made by his staff. As between industrial and residential districts of Manchester the Chairman of the Libraries Committee says that "The main difference appears to be that more useful arts and sociology are read in the industrial areas, and more pure literature and science in the residential ones. . . . This difference is one of emphasis only: the standard of books read in literature is just as good in one class of district as in the other, and it is on the whole very good." *The Times*, Aug. 8, 1924.

issue special book lists in connection with any particular study that is being pursued by a group of people in their constituencies, to add books that would be of special value to such groups, or even to arrange for special lectures and talks. They are far too infrequently called upon even by Adult Schools or Educational Settlements, to say nothing of churches. Yet recently a Borough Librarian in N.E. London, on making acquaintance for the first time with the current Adult School Lesson Handbook, was so impressed by its value, and by the excellence of the short book list attached to each of the weekly lessons, that he at once ordered a copy of every book in those fifty-two lists which was not already in the library.

Perhaps the most recent piece of direct co-operation of this kind is that which has occurred at Norwich, where the City Librarian has instituted a special section, containing several hundred books, for Sunday School Teachers, with an annotated catalogue, purchasable for sixpence. The Norwich Sunday School Union co-operated, not only in the selection of the books that had to be added to various divisions of the library for this purpose, but by making a contribution towards the cost, and by publishing the catalogue at its own expense. Dr. John Adams, in a foreword to the catalogue, bestows high commendation upon the selection of books included in it, upon the classification and subdivision of them, and upon the guidance given to readers. Indeed, he even remarks that the catalogue " has a national as well as a local importance." One may perhaps venture to suggest that this might be qualified by recognition of the weakness of certain sections—but even after 900 books have been chosen there must remain many obvious gaps, and there is no doubt that these will be filled in course of time. In any event, the enterprise merits the attention and emulation of other librarians and Sunday School Unions in all parts of the country, while it suggests great possibilities in the direction of co-operation between the Public Libraries and the Churches and kindred organisations.

In rural areas a great opportunity of co-operation is now

offered by the scheme under which the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust makes a substantial grant for the purchase of books during an initial period of years to any County Council that will adopt the Libraries Act of 1919, establish circulating village libraries, appoint a librarian, and provide a central depot. This provides a nucleus of books not only for children but for adults in every village. Yet there are still many counties in England which have not put the Act into force.[1] The churches and kindred organisations can render a great service, first in helping to secure the adoption of the Act, and then by assisting in the working of the scheme and, where possible, supplementing the supply of books in their own localities from sources specially available to them.

It should not be forgotten that the Central Library for Students exists, not only to supply individual adult students with books, or university tutorial and one-year classes with boxes of books, simply on payment of carriage, but that the facilities it offers are open to all groups of adult students engaged in non-vocational studies. There should be much greater co-operation with it on the part of churches, Settlements, Adult Schools and similar organisations. As it is, the Central Library Committee contains representatives of the national organisations, not of the denominations, but of allied movements such as that of the Adult Schools.[2]

It will by this time have become clear that there can be no one plan of co-operation which would suit all districts and circumstances. But it is equally clear that within each area naturally defined by geographical or other considerations there ought to be *some* plan. The difficulties are many.

[1] Cf. Prof. W. G. S. Adams' Report to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees on *Library Provision and Policy* (1915), and the Trustees' *Report on the Public Library System of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1921-1923 (1924).

[2] Cf. *Annual Report of the Central Library for Students*, 1924. Students must apply through local libraries, where such libraries exist.

Each voluntary organisation of course desires not to lose its identity or to have its particular purpose blurred. All Local Education Authorities are subject to the temptation of wanting, not only to co-ordinate, but to control every relevant activity of an educational character, whether official or voluntary, within their respective areas. There is always, on the part of both working-class and religious organisations, a fear of interference from outside. A kind of financial rivalry tends to spring up between bodies struggling to pay their way when the sources of voluntary gifts have run unusually low. *Esprit de corps* counts for much, and it may well seem dangerous to recommend people who would join a class attached to their particular church or society to become members of one organised in some other connection. Sharp differences of opinion may be regarded as occasions of conflict, rather than as opportunities of making a distinctive contribution to the common stock of thought and experience. Yet all these barriers must be broken down if the community life is to be full, deep and free.

It is therefore all the more important to emphasise the true meaning of co-operation, as against all forms of co-ordination or control developed by any authority other than that of a commonwealth of groups or societies. The aim and basis of real co-operation is made clear by two paragraphs that occur in a Report recently issued by the Board of Education.

"In cases where co-ordination is not possible, close co-operation can be, and often is, effected. This is illustrated by the experience of Educational Settlements. An integral part of their purpose is to afford a common centre where various organisations for adult education can carry on their respective activities while retaining complete autonomy. A part of the Settlement programme would naturally be arranged and directed by the Settlement Committee as such, but Tutorial and one-year classes organised by the Workers' Educational Association, University Extension Courses, Adult Schools and so forth, are also to be found there. Some such Settlements have originated from the direct co-operation of Adult Schools with a Church (as in Bristol) or with the Workers' Educational Association (as

in Lemington-on-Tyne and Letchworth) for this purpose. In all cases the Adult Schools, in most the Workers' Educational Association, in many the University Extra-mural Authority, co-operate with the Settlement. Trade Unions, Women's Institutes, the Plebs League, Dramatic and Musical Societies, Regional Survey Groups and other educational organisations co-operate with Settlements in certain instances.

"Thus without any measure of control, even by a joint representative committee, these different groups are yet conversant and sympathetic with each other's efforts. The natural result is an avoidance of harmful overlapping, an effort to make the various organisations complement each other, and a richer provision for the varied needs of the locality, as well as a stronger appeal to the general constituency from which all the classes and groups are drawn. It is obviously impossible to suggest schemes of co-operation in the same way as schemes of co-ordination might be outlined. Such co-operation is essentially the result of the distinctive spirit and circumstances of each district. Even the Educational Settlements, while all based upon the same general principle, differ widely from each other in detail, and they are by no means the only form of this kind of co-operation, though they may be the best known and the most successful. We feel, however, that attention should be drawn to the distinction between co-ordination and co-operation because the latter is often not attempted by reason of the fear that it will necessarily involve the former, and that co-ordination inevitably implies delegation or loss of control by the co-ordinated bodies." [1]

Co-operation among adult education movements can never be achieved to anything like an adequate degree unless the organisations and individuals concerned keep constantly before them two great ideas—that of the nature and content of education, as these were outlined in the earlier chapters of this enquiry, and that of the character, needs and possibilities of the whole community, local, regional, national and

[1] Adult Education Committee, Paper No. 1—*Local Co-operation between Universities, Local Education Authorities, and Voluntary Bodies*, 1922, §§ 23-24, pp. 17-18. Note also the suggestions contained in this Report with regard to the formation of Local Adult Education Councils. Cf. also *The Guildhouse : a Co-operative Centre of Adult Education* (1924).

ultimately international. If this is done, co-operation becomes at once natural and inevitable. It develops, not as a mere sentiment, but as an ordered and fruitful system. The result of it is not rigidity and conservatism, but deeper vitality and perpetual constructive experiment.

V

THE PROVISION AND TRAINING OF LEADERS AND TEACHERS

A SEVERE shock to enthusiasm in the case of adult education is created by the perpetual difficulty with regard to leaders and teachers, whether voluntary or paid. The urgent need of classes and study-groups, lecture courses and educational societies, is not questioned. Failure to meet it is generally explained or excused by the apparent impossibility of finding sufficient men and women both capable of conducting them and able, as well as willing, to devote the necessary time and thought to the work. Many clergy and ministers, and lay people too, who are acutely conscious of the need are so completely baffled by the apparent impossibility that they give up as impracticable all thought of trying to get something going, or else sink into a mood of general discouragement. Moreover, demand and supply always react upon each other. The larger the number of people who seriously ask for educational facilities the stronger is the appeal to possible workers in this field. But, on the other hand, the personality of the tutor is a noticeable factor in the attraction, or otherwise, of students. While many people are drawn into membership of a group because the subject to be dealt with is one that happens specially to interest them, at least as many, in the case of adult education, are induced to participate because they like and trust a teacher, and believe that whatever may be the topic that he brings before them they will find the study of it under his guidance abundantly worth while.

This dearth of personnel is felt almost more in connection with the Churches and the educational organisations con-

cerned with subjects related to religion than in other educational movements. The growth of Church Tutorial Classes has been much hampered by lack of available tutors. In the average parish or congregation it constantly happens that if any class or course is suggested either the clergyman or minister must take it or the whole proposal lapses. Graded Sunday Schools sometimes suffer severely because there is no adequate leadership of the preparation class, which may and should be made a most valuable instrument of education for young people who act as teachers of the children in the departments. Men's societies miss half their possibilities because there is no one to foster and lead group work. Similarly the Adult School Movement, on both the men's side and the women's, is at the present time feeling difficulties which are more than anything else a matter of poverty in leadership. Desiring to develop strongly the educational aspect of its work along the special lines suited to its particular constituency, it is in far too many places held back because suitable and acceptable people are not forthcoming for this task. Reference has already been made to the position of the Y.M.C.A. in this respect.

One unfortunate result is that in all these spheres people who are devoted in spirit, but who possess neither the necessary equipment nor the appropriate qualities of personality, are persuaded, or feel themselves *faute de mieux* obliged, to take up the work. Disaster to the group directly concerned and a distinct set-back to the movement at large only too frequently follow. For this the people who have courageously, and probably with much trepidation and self-distrust, made the effort at any rate not to let things go by default are least to blame.

The questions that arise from such a situation are numerous. Are the needed men and women really there, part of the membership of church, adult school or what not, but unresponsive to the call ? Are they there, but loaded with less important tasks ? If they have the necessary capacities and enthusiasm, are they hindered merely by lack of training, and in that event how can such training

be given them ? If they are not there, from what other sources can they be drawn ? How far is a nucleus of paid workers essential, and how far is it possible to rely upon purely voluntary service ?

To begin with ministers and clergy, let it be said at once that current ways of utilising their time, strength, and abilities are frequently stupid and wasteful to the last degree. Whatever they, or the people whom they serve, may regard as their primary functions, these are often so overlaid by trivial activities (of which many have no real value from any point of view, while others can equally well or even better be performed by non-clerical workers), that grievous inefficiency and grave lack of influence must inevitably result. Preaching, teaching and pastoral work cannot be done without ample time for study, meditation, and the cultivation of personal relationships.

But not every minister, even when freed from unimportant claims upon his energies, is a teacher either by nature or by calling. Emphasis was laid in an earlier chapter upon the need of distinguishing clearly between preaching and teaching, between the sermon and the lecture, between the prophetic and only incidentally educational work of the pulpit and the inspiring but definitely and systematically educational work of the classroom. Some men possess the gifts for both, but such men are not numerous. It is useless to suppose that a man whose temperament is purely that of the preacher or the pastor will succeed as the tutor of an adult group. For these men and women come together not to be taught by an expert, but to explore for themselves, under the guidance of someone who combines a sound knowledge of the subject and a ripe judgment with an understanding of the kind of life they live, a sympathy with their mental processes, a measure of experience of their problems. Their personalities can be expressed, disciplined and enriched only as they do the work themselves, under adequate leadership. The sense of mutual obligation and of corporate quest and achievement cannot be attained merely as one of a crowd, listening to an authority and asking

questions. Therefore adult education involves group work. What grown people ask of their tutor is not that he should present them with results, but that he should help them to ascertain facts and to acquire the material for judgment, and should show them sound methods of dealing with the data derived both from books and from their own experience. That is the reason why the minister of a church, even though he may be a skilled theologian and a powerful preacher, may or may not be the best leader of an adult class. Freedom from prejudice, absolute frankness and impartiality, is what adult students seek in their tutor, often because they know that they do not themselves possess it, and yet are anxious to acquire it. Therefore the man who is perpetually concerned to plead a cause may be disqualified in their eyes. On the other hand, the man who has practised well and truly his pastoral office among both the men and the women of his congregation, and is known himself to be a learner, may be the heaven-sent tutor. It would be well in many churches if, before assuming that the minister is the only possible tutor for adult groups, some stock were taken of lay-people in the neighbourhood—teachers, professional or business people who have been good students—to see whether others at least equally qualified are available. Only in this way can the conditions inherent in the task be satisfied.[1]

Before dealing with the question of enlisting the help of lay-people, however, it is desirable to emphasise the fact that there are many men in the ministry whose outstanding characteristics and predominating tastes are those of the teacher rather than of the preacher. Because they cannot preach arresting sermons they are often set down more or

[1] Cf. *The Church as a School of Christian Education*, pp. 92-3. "We do not employ our teachers to uplift us, or to teach a political creed or an economic theory, or to entertain us. We want them to teach us how to think and how to study, how to read and what to read, how to find information for practical purposes and how to judge its value after we find it—in short, we want them to teach us how to do our own thinking." James H. Maurer, art. "Why Labour Schools and Colleges?" *Life and Labour* (U.S.A.) for October 1921, p. 230.

less as failures. No attempt appears yet to have been made on any satisfactory scale (if at all) to utilise their special abilities in the directly educational work of the Church. Many have, as a result, gone out into ordinary teaching. More are left to the hopeless task of perpetually trying to do something that is not natural to them, and thus they suffer the continual disappointment of finding little or no opportunity for the use of their real powers. An organisation which carried out a very considerable piece of adult educational work during the War utilised the services of a large number of clergy and ministers. The number of these who welcomed the chance of this teaching work and expressed the wish that they might continue in something similar after the War was remarkable. They " found themselves " in it.

What is greatly needed is a wider and deeper conception of the ministry, a recognition of different but equally valuable main types, and an adjustment of organisation that will provide for the proper development and use of each. At present the elements of a complete ministry are appreciated, but the mistake lies in expecting each ordained man to exhibit them all, with perhaps a special development of one or another according to his personality and training. In so far as exceptions are made they are in favour of the man who is *par excellence* the preacher, and practically never in favour of the man who is a born teacher. The supreme importance attached to a preaching ministry in the case of the Free Churches, and to an all-round parochial ministry in that of the Church of England, has obscured the place of the teaching ministry. In the Church of Rome clergy are set apart for the work of teaching, but, so far at any rate as England is concerned, they work in colleges and schools and are but little available, if at all, for adult education in the ordinary parish. It may be impossible for the ordinary parish or congregation to maintain more than one, or at the most two, ordained men. But the existing organisation of the Church of England, and the development of the connexional system and of co-operation between denominations among the Free Churches, ought to make it possible to set certain men free

for educational service in given areas. Incidentally it may be suggested that the place of women in the ministry would be much more clearly seen if the teaching function were put in its proper place beside that of preaching and pastoral work.

If this distinction were made effectively, the much-discussed problem of the training given in theological colleges would be easier of solution. The difficulty of giving every prospective minister a fair training in educational methods is, of course, that of finding the necessary time, when an adequate curriculum in arts and theology is already making such demands. Those students, whether men or women, who are looking forward to a specialised ministry of teaching, could well afford to sacrifice certain of the items in the normal theological course of three or four years in order to equip themselves educationally, while for the others only so much of the training in education need be introduced as would enable them better to fulfil their task of exposition and preaching, and more fully to understand and co-operate with the progressive educational methods among children, young people and adults applied by their colleagues and fellow-workers, clerical or lay.

This is perhaps the appropriate point at which to suggest a fuller use of the staff and students of our theological colleges in the work of adult education among the Churches and related organisations.[1] Senior members of staff who have an aptitude for presenting their subjects to non-technical listeners, and a knack of evoking questions or stimulating discussion, would in many cases gladly respond to invitations to give extension courses, short or long, especially if these could be arranged for groups of churches or adult schools, or at an educational settlement. Some colleges already make it a matter of policy to encourage

[1] An example of help given by a theological college in the training of tutors will be found in the account of the Church Tutorial Class School for Old Testament Study, arranged in co-operation with King's College, London ; *vide* p. 340 *infra*. Woodbrooke has frequently arranged short schools for Adult School leaders and others concerned with adult education. Cf. pp. 251 ff. *supra*.

churches within the area where they are situated to call upon their professors for lectures. In most cases, however, these are single lectures, even if they are put together in a series. The more consecutive and thorough work has not yet been attempted to any extent. Junior tutors, on the other hand, might well teach church tutorial classes, just as the younger members of ordinary college staffs are to an increasing degree teaching university tutorial classes. It has become a widely-accepted opinion among those whose experience of Workers' Educational Association classes is ripest that the ideal arrangement for their tutors is a division of time between intra-mural and extra-mural work. Thoroughness of scholarship and freshness of outlook are both maintained, and the tutor is saved from becoming either academic or superficial. Similar considerations apply to those who teach in theological colleges. As the universities have done, the theological colleges should hear and respond to a great appeal in this business. Professors and lecturers have already in many instances shown their enthusiasm and capacity for this kind of extra-mural effort. College committees might set them more free for it, and should certainly have this claim in view when making appointments, particularly to junior staff posts. Such activities help those who are responsible for the training of ministers to keep in contact with people whom their pupils are to shepherd. If college staffs in this way were enabled to know more fully what is going on in the mind of the average business or working man, they might feel it necessary to alter the main lines of their college curriculum, but they would certainly teach from a different angle, lay the emphasis differently, and perhaps change their methods.[1]

Marked success has attended a venture on these lines made in Wales during the last few years by theological

[1] By the courtesy of the Editor of *The Hibbert Journal*, the writer is permitted to utilise here some passages from an article on "The Churches and Adult Education," contributed by him to the issue for April 1922.

professors and lecturers. In several cases the Y.M.C.A. Education Committee, working through the Churches, through Miners' Institutes, or through village community committees, has organised the lectures. In one or two instances inter-church educational societies have done so. In England summer schools and week-end lecture-schools, on the model of those arranged by the Adult Schools, and now by some of the Missionary Societies, have afforded perhaps the chief opportunities for members of theological college staffs to do this extension work. In two Congregational churches in South London short courses of lectures by theological college professors have been interspersed with other lectures in Guild week-night programmes. Theological professors in the Midlands and the North have given a number of courses in churches.[1] Similar success has attended these English experiments.

There is a further service that theological colleges can render, but there is as yet no evidence that the plan has been tried. Surely there is a considerable place for theological students in this movement, and they themselves might derive much benefit from participating in it. Many men in their third year, if not in their second, would be well qualified to take a one-year class. If each really suitable man were given one such class in the session, it would occupy no more of his time than he now gives to desultory preaching. He would gain a deeper insight into some of the problems that he will have to face when he himself is ordained, and would get an experience of men and women that would help greatly in preparing him for his ministry later on. Academically he would be kept hard at work on consecutive study of the subject in which he is specialising. He would learn from his class that, after all, he is only a man with a little better start than the rest, and might be delivered from one of the most common, and often the most destructive, perils of young professional men—swelled head. Similarly, from among the outgoing men one here and there might be selected and given a fellowship tenable, say, for three years,

[1] See pp. 325 ff. *infra.*

with the duty of taking three or four tutorial classes each winter session, or a couple of tutorial classes and other forms of lecturing or teaching work among the churches. Naturally, part of their time would be devoted to research. Possibly the teaching work might be arranged as a half-time task, the remainder of a man's time being utilised for some other form of service. One wise principal of a theological college used to see to it that his men, during their ordinary course, joined adult schools and took their part there. Manchester College, Oxford, and another theological college in the south are quite definitely considering some such plan for their students.[1]

To this it may be added, as a point of personal experience, that certain theological students (graduates in arts and second year men in theology) tried the experiment on their own account in connection with village churches where they held student pastorates. During the winter they conducted, as a Saturday night activity, what were practically one-year classes in Biblical studies, with results eminently satisfactory both to themselves and to their class-members. Their testimony is that it gave them additional incentive to, and grasp of, their own studies.

This last point is important in view of the probable head-shaking among certain college authorities over a proposal that may seem to them to threaten the progress of the theological student's own reading. A more serious objection may be deduced from a passage in the Report on Tutors recently issued by the Adult Education Committee of the

[1] Sir Michael Sadler in a recent address to the staff and students of Regent's Park Baptist College, London, urged that a study of the art, history, ideals, and modern administration of education should find some place in the training of candidates for the Christian ministry. He outlined five great movements affecting the life and thought of the world to-day, among them being demand for increased educational opportunity for the masses of the people, and the quest for a faith in which men and women can really believe, and he argued that the ministry should be deeply interested in all five, which are closely interconnected. *Christian World*, June 19, 1924. The present writer assumes that all theological students have passed through an adequate Arts course, even if they are not graduates.

Board of Education.[1] Fear is therein expressed lest the newly-fledged graduate, with little or no experience of the rough-and-tumble world, should find himself nonplussed by a group of keen working-men students, or should on the other hand cause them by his pedantry and academicism to feel that education has very little to do with real life. That is a danger which ought not to be overlooked, and any such proposal for utilising the services of senior theological students, or establishing extra-mural teaching fellowships, assumes that careful selection of suitable men will be made. It should be remembered with regard to most English theological colleges outside Oxford and Cambridge that the majority of the students have spent some time in shops, factories, or similar surroundings, before entering upon their college course, and have not gone straight from school to college or university. On the other hand the fellowship scheme might be modified in the direction of making such fellowships tenable only by men who have spent two or three years in ordinary ministerial or parochial work after completing their course at college.[2]

It would seem that in this sphere women might well play a very valuable part. The place of women in the ministry, which has been that of effective equality with men only in

[1] Adult Education Committee Paper No. 2. Report on *The Recruitment, Training and Remuneration of Tutors* (1922).

[2] So far as I am aware no book has appeared in this country dealing at all thoroughly with the educational function of the ministry among adults. There is a very brief reference to it in *The Teaching Office of the Church* (1918), p. 28. Since writing this chapter I have become acquainted with three American books which approach the question from other points of view: B. W. Bacon, *The Teaching Ministry of To-morrow* (1923); W. H. P. Faunce, *The Educational Ideal in the Ministry* (Lyman Beecher Lectures), 1908, especially pp. 193-223; C. A. Ellwood, *Christianity and Social Service* (1923), especially pp. 182-183. In *Education and Religion*, published as the present volume is passing through the Press, the Dean of Bristol makes passing reference to the idea, without elaborating it, but he appears to have chiefly in mind the provision of qualified teachers of religion in elementary and secondary schools: he therefore suggests an ordained Ministry of Teaching, pp. 248-9.

the case of the Society of Friends and the Salvation Army, though the Bible Christian denomination owed its origin to a division of opinion on this matter, and others of the smaller Methodist Churches long ago recognised more or less theoretically that women ought to be allowed to preach, has of late been the subject of very practical consideration in all the Churches with the exception of the Roman Catholic. The Congregational and Unitarian Churches have admitted women students to full courses of training in theological colleges, and subsequently to ordination as ministers in the fullest sense. The Presbyterian Church of England is willing to grant women the privileges of study at a theological college, but not of exercising ministerial functions. In the Church of England the ordination of deaconesses is now an accomplished fact, though their functions are more limited than those of deacons or priests. But without prejudice to the cardinal questions of the eligibility of women for the full work of the ministry as generally understood, and the claim of women who are conscious of that vocation to the same opportunities of training and the same privileges of ordination as men, it may be suggested that for the teaching side of the ministry they have special gifts and aptitudes. Many women find themselves unable to stand the physical and nervous strain of public speaking to large audiences or preaching to fair-sized congregations. Many do not feel that this is for them a natural mode of expression. But these difficulties do not arise in the course of other ministerial activities. Among these class or group work, lecturing and tutorial work are obvious. Already, especially in some Free Churches, women assistants to the ministers have been appointed, and generally the special task assigned to them (as distinguished from the duties of deaconesses or " sisters " who have been occupied with visiting, philanthropic work, and so forth) has been educational. Specially trained in the methods of the Graded Sunday School, they have been given complete responsibility for the organisation and supervision of the school, the training of the teachers, and " young people's work " in general. Clearly the next step is, where

suitable women are available, to secure for them an adequate theological, general, and technical preparation for adult education in the Churches, and to give them proper status in the ministry of those Churches, whether they ever preach and administer the Sacraments or not. This of course does not imply that where in one church or congregation there are both a man minister and a woman minister there should be such a rigid division of function that the man may never teach and the woman never preach. It is rather a matter of co-operation between people who specialise, and whose specialisation rests upon particular qualities, training, and experience.

Even where it would be impossible, on financial or similar grounds, to maintain a woman for the educational work of one church or parish (though it may be suggested that two or three churches or parishes might share the services of one woman), much greater use might be made of the service of voluntary or part-time women workers than is now the case. Very many possess the desirable qualifications of college or university education, diploma or licentiateship in theology, and experience in teaching adults through W.E.A., Adult Schools, and similar organisations. And while it may happen in a few cases that an adult class will prefer a man tutor, women have proved highly successful in handling not only classes of women or mixed classes, but also those composed wholly of men.[1]

[1] The work of the W.E.A. bears abundant witness to this. One has seen a woman tutor, a member of the staff of a Northern University, conducting a class of men in economics to the most evident satisfaction not only of the class but of the inspector. At a representative national conference on adult education recently held in Oxford, one of the ablest among the members, a trade unionist and shop steward of considerable experience and standing who has also been a W.E.A. student for nearly twenty years, turned to a young lecturer from a women's college who was addressing the same session as himself and paid her, as "my tutor," exactly the same kind of tribute as others had paid to men like the late Master of Balliol. The point is one which it would be unnecessary to raise but for the fact that so many people still seem to suppose that a woman tutor cannot effectively teach men students.

Obviously the help of professional teachers, in elementary, secondary and technical schools as well as in colleges and universities, men as well as women, should be sought by the Churches more than it is. There are many of devoted spirit who would be only too glad to serve their Churches in this way if they were given the opportunity, whereas so often all that they are asked to do in the way of "church-work" is so artificial or trifling (the term is not to be confused with humble or inconspicuous, for these are people willing to do little things that are necessary, and are apt to rebel only against doing futile things for the mere sake of doing something), that they do not feel justified in putting aside for it the reading and recreation, the social and political or civic activities, for which their leisure is already all too scanty; or perhaps they give themselves to the service of some purely secular organisation for adult education. Admittedly the professional teacher of children or adolescents may prove as unsatisfactory a teacher of adults as the preacher or public lecturer may do. But that is only because he or she does not realise the necessity of applying through different methods the same fundamental principles of education. It goes without saying that this disqualifies such a teacher for adult work, and spells disaster if that teacher is allowed to attempt it. But it is not sufficiently realised that many teachers who have been dealing with boys and girls in school all day, while they would find it exhausting to carry on similar work with boys and girls all the evening and therefore decline to do so, would welcome the opportunity of teaching men and women, since they find in it that change which is a very real refreshment.[1]

[1] The question of payment for work of this kind ought frankly to be faced and fairly settled. Many professional teachers would gladly give voluntary help, but are literally unable to do so because they are compelled, in order to make ends meet financially, to earn as much as possible by teaching evening classes, and to do voluntary work definitely means sacrificing a part of their income. Also they are obliged, in loyalty to other members of their profession, to decline to be exploited. With the introduction of Burnham scales, and with the growth of wisdom among Educational Authorities that

Even when professional teachers are unable to take up regular work among adults in the evening, they are often able and willing to take a short course for prospective leaders of groups, and may make a valuable contribution in this way.

Then there are untapped resources among lay people of a professional type. In some cases their professional work requires that they should give a great part of their leisure to studies that belong to their profession—doctors, musicians, artists, architects, or bankers may be quoted as illustrations. Out of their stores of reading and thought, as well as of experience, they have much to bring. So, too, in many cases, have men and women who in school or university days have acquired a love of literature, art, science (even of theology, for one recalls a doctor whose great hobby was study of the Latin poets and of the Hebrew Bible), and have kept these up as a relaxation from the stress of their professional duties and studies. Much the same applies to men in business. In these cases, just as in the case of teachers, they will often be willing to spare time and energy out of very busy lives and scanty leisure for what they regard as a serious piece of work, when they refuse, as they say, to "waste time" on running certain types of church societies or attending more or less useless meetings.

The main drawback with such tutors or leaders is likely to be their tendency to lecture, to monopolise the time of a class, and not to give due place to discussion. But it is generally possible to make clear to them the lines on which alone adult education can be conducted successfully, and a good class will always help its tutor.

has resulted (in the case of good Authorities) in paying teachers adequately during the day and requiring that they shall not do ordinary evening-class work, professional teachers are now in a much better position. There is no body of people in the country readier to give freely of time and strength to voluntary work. But in approaching them for help exactly the same attitude should be observed as to doctors, lawyers, architects, or other professional people who are asked, not to do a casual kindness, but to undertake a definite and sustained piece of professional work for a society or a group of its members.

It is probably, however, to those who are already, or who have been, students in working-class organisations for adult education that we must look for our most effective leaders of groups, though not for tutors to take classes of such a standard that only a university training or something akin to it will prepare a tutor adequately for the work of teaching them. The University Tutorial Classes, Educational Settlements, Summer Schools, and Working People's Colleges like Fircroft and Beckenham have for a long time been producing just the type of men and women who could serve the Churches splendidly in this respect, but the Churches have, on the whole, been so much out of touch with all these developments that they have lost such folk to other organisations. It might be well if the Churches definitely sent some of their own people, not only for their personal profit but for this kind of incidental training, to some of the classes, Settlements, and Schools which hitherto they have regarded as so much outside their own sphere.

When all possible and probable existing sources of leadership have been explored and brought into full requisition, however, it will become only the more clear that the Churches and similar bodies must set out afresh to discover, train and equip teachers of adults in a systematic fashion and on a very large scale indeed. Every movement concerned with voluntary education is confronted by this problem as soon as it faces its task seriously. The Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction had the matter of the provision and training of tutors before it throughout the whole of the two years occupied by its investigation, and even then realised the inadequacy of that section of its Final Report devoted to this topic. When Mr. Fisher appointed a standing Board of Education Committee on Adult Education it immediately found itself faced by the same question, and of the five Reports at present published, one[1] deals wholly with this. When, twenty years ago, Mr. Hamilton Archibald introduced to this country from Canada the idea of Graded Sunday Schools, his campaign

[1] The Report on Tutors mentioned on p. 175 *supra*.

resulted first of all in a demand for facilities for the training of leaders, and Westhill had to be established so that men and women might go there for periods varying from a term to a year and receive both theoretical and practical instruction before the schools from which they came could be organised on the new lines. Similarly when, a little earlier, the Mission Study movement was initiated in Great Britain under the impetus of what was being done in America, the Missionary Societies concerned not only set up the United Council for Missionary Education, which prepared textbooks in a scientific way, but had immediately to develop, through their specially appointed officers, local and central schools of leadership, since the study circle and the methods involved were then entirely unknown here.

Woodbrooke, again, represents the concern felt by members of the Society of Friends with regard to the equipment of those who exercise ministry in the Society, and particularly the equipment needed for the maintenance of an educated ministry. At the same time the founder had in mind the enrichment and strengthening of leadership in the Adult School movement, while traditionally that movement owes much to Friends who have become presidents and teachers of Adult Schools.[1]

As we have had occasion to notice in an earlier chapter, the growing Church Tutorial Class Movement [2] has already begun to pursue the policy of expansion by first providing "refresher courses" for tutors and then, when leadership has in this way become available, setting to work to stimulate the demand for classes.

The United Methodist Church has recognised the urgency of this problem, and in the recent *Report of the Local Preachers' Commission* appointed by it the following paragraphs occur :

"Ministers should feel that the calling and training of suitably qualified members, especially of young people, for

[1] Cf. Arnold S. Rowntree, *Woodbrooke, its History and Aims* (1923), pp. 13, 16, 18, 25-27 ; A. G. Gardiner, *Life of George Cadbury*, pp. 199-202.

[2] Cf. p. 67 *supra*, also p. 340 *infra*.

the specific functions of preaching and teaching is a definite responsibility that can never be set aside for the sake of other duties. Ministers should, therefore, be free to concentrate on this side of what is the Church's work.

"With this end in view the Commission asks every church and leaders' meeting to consider afresh how best the time and energy of both ministers and competent laymen may be devoted to this central work of the Church and not frittered away on routine duties that might properly be discharged by other members. The diversified routine work of a church or circuit needs to be shared by a large number of helpers so that the most difficult yet the most fruitful work of Christian leadership and training may be undertaken, and no possibility of excuse remain for its not being done by our members."[1]

A detailed and excellent plan for the training of lay preachers follows, the methods suggested being those of local training classes and study circles, correspondence classes, summer schools and holiday classes, libraries and examinations. The study courses outlined give pre-eminence to Biblical, theological, and literary subjects, but "Christianity and Industrial Problems" is included. Only a slight extension of this is needed to prepare such lay preachers for general adult educational work, and surely from their ranks a valuable force of leaders and tutors might be recruited.

Organisations like the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. are devoting close attention to this question of trained leadership. It was a great blow to both when the necessity for economy compelled them to close the Training Colleges that they had established on a co-operative basis at Mildmay Park. They are taking every care to provide as much stimulus and help as possible in the present circumstances for their respective secretariats.

The Adult School Union, too, has had this same point under consideration. The Chairman of its Education and Social Service Committee points out that in earlier days many teachers and leaders came to the Movement from the Society of Friends, and also that from among its own membership it has developed many who have proved capable

[1] p. 3.

and efficient. But the supply is not now equal to the demand, and "at the present time the Movement has to rely upon outside sources for most of its leaders and teachers." The difficulty of finding these, he says, is much greater in villages and rural areas than in towns and industrial districts. The remedy that he proposes is the organisation of local training centres, such as one Sub-Union has already decided to arrange. At these district central classes there would be "definite instruction in the art of study group leading, and of preparing lesson-material for simple classes." He refers also to the special Summer School held, in co-operation with Young Friends, at Woodbrooke in August 1922, when an attempt was made to show students the various methods by which self-education can be carried out with some degree of success. Such schools, he thinks, might be multiplied with advantage.[1]

In the Educational Settlements the problem of finding suitable tutors is, of course, one that they share with the adult education movement in general.[2] Their more particular concern is that of finding wardens, who are born and not made. Business men, schoolmasters, parsons, a doctor, a woman lecturer in a training college for teachers—such are the original vocations of some who have proved most successful part-time or whole-time, voluntary or paid, wardens. But it has become clear that a neighbourhood which starts a Settlement cannot always provide the warden. A reserve is necessary, and so the Educational Settlements Association has developed the plan of taking one or two young people who have the general qualifications desired and putting them, as sub-wardens, under the care of experienced wardens in the larger Settlements, so that they may be tested and trained, with a view to service as wardens elsewhere when required.

It would be valuable if the various denominations could set up adult education departments, perhaps with some sort

[1] *The Friend*, October 13, 1922.

[2] Cf. *Adult Education Committee Report on Tutors*, pp. 6, 7, 11, 14-19. See also Note, p. 186 *infra*.

of central council, to foster the development of adult education within the Churches themselves and equally to foster co-operation with related organisations such as the study departments of the Missionary Societies and Social Service Unions, and with such agencies as University Extra-mural Departments, the Workers' Educational Association, the Educational Settlements, the Colleges for Adult Education, the Adult Schools, the Y.M.C.A., the Women's Institutes, and so forth, as also to bring the Churches into contact with the British Institute of Adult Education. Investigation into the problem of providing sufficient and adequate teaching power, together with constructive effort in this direction, would be one of the first things to be considered. The Congregational Union Commission on Christian Education has proved this within the last twelve months, and reflects that fact in its Interim Report.[1]

Any such enquiry, proposals, and active effort would almost certainly take into account at least the following factors in the training of group leaders, class teachers, and tutors.

Local short courses of a concentrated character are valuable for preparing suitable people to conduct groups and circles, though care needs to be taken in the preliminary selection of those who are to undergo this training. The people who conduct the course may be found locally, or it may be necessary to get them to come from another district, or from the headquarters of the movement or the denomination. W.E.A. district organisations, Educational Settlements, and University or University College Extra-mural departments ought to be able to give special assistance in this work. The Westhill Extension Courses for training Sunday School teachers generally consist of a week's lectures and demonstrations. The London Missionary Society, and other Missionary Societies, sometimes independently and sometimes jointly, have found it useful to gather perhaps thirty or forty possible circle-leaders into a fortnight's school, carried on each evening for that period under the

[1] Cf. *The Church as a School of Christian Education.*

direction of a study-officer from headquarters and comprising lectures, conferences, and practical work under criticism.

Week-end schools, at which an experienced lecturer gives four lectures on the psychological and practical aspects of group work, and conducts discussions, are also valuable.

At summer-schools there is more opportunity of dealing with subject-matter and psychology, as well as with practical methods, and also more practice can be afforded to those who hope later to become leaders. In these schools it is possible to grade the work, thus providing both for those who are entirely at the beginning and for others who have had considerable experience and desire further training and conference. Time can be given also to the discussion of fresh experiments, either actual or prospective.

The ultimate need is that of more centres of study like Westhill, Woodbrooke, Fircroft and Beckenham, to which people can go for anything from a term to two years,[1] either to take "refresher courses," to prepare for some special task, or simply to acquire a measure of education that will enable them to become themselves lifelong students and thus to equip themselves for leading and teaching others.[2]

The Adult Education Department of the University College of Nottingham has prepared an admirable course of training in adult education, designed to occupy a full year, and probably to lead to a diploma comparable to the ordinary Diploma in Education taken by Primary and Secondary Teachers. This indicates a great service which the Universities could render to the cause of Adult Education. The Churches and kindred organisations should encourage any such proposals and show their readiness to co-operate in a development which would strengthen them greatly in their efforts to secure a carefully recruited and

[1] The minimum course at Beckenham is one year.

[2] Reference should also be made to Holybrook House, Reading, where the W.E.A. carries on residential courses of training lasting for one month or longer, for adult students who hope subsequently to conduct study-groups or even one-year classes.

adequately trained leadership of their adult educational work.

While this chapter has been devoted mainly to the question of providing and training teachers of adult groups in churches, it should be observed that the question is one of importance to the adult education movement as a whole. Churches and religious organisations cannot make their contribution to the movement in any of the ways suggested in our last chapter, or participate as they should in the integration with which our next chapter will deal, unless they are sufficiently staffed. But it is sometimes forgotten that among the chief reasons why the Churches are not asked for help, and why in their own efforts to do educational work in the subjects most pertinent to their special function they do not attract students from outside their own membership, is just this lack of adequate teaching power.

The characteristic demand of the true teacher for the perpetual enrichment of his own knowledge and thought simply brings us back full circle to the general question of adult education again. For the good teacher is always a student, and while he has of necessity learned how to use books he is never satisfied with books alone. Thus the more teachers we produce the more lecture courses and discussion classes of an increasingly high standard shall we have to provide. We therefore resume our enquiry as to how this may be done, both by the Churches and related organisations themselves, and by co-operation between these and Universities, Local Education Authorities, and voluntary educational associations.

Note.

For adult education of university standard it is clear that teachers with university training and status are required; such teachers should be definitely recognised by the University Department of Adult Education as part of its staff, whether whole-time, part-time, or voluntary. It would be superfluous to discuss in this essay methods of

recruiting, training, recognising, and where necessary remunerating, such teachers, in view of the recent detailed Report on this subject issued by the Adult Education Committee. But special attention may be drawn to the Committee's recommendation " that in any branch of adult education a nucleus of experienced full-time tutors and lecturers is desirable." [1]

Another important point made in the Report is " that the supply of tutors that might be obtained from among Tutorial Class students for all branches of adult education other than University Extension Courses should not be overlooked. It is suggested that such students should, after a special course of training, be given opportunities to take one-year classes, and that where they prove successful they should be enabled to spend a year or more in a University with a view to becoming teachers of Tutorial Classes." [2]

The remark of the Committee that " the difficulty of recruiting tutors and lecturers for part-time service only is steadily decreasing," [3] refers chiefly to the willingness of qualified elementary and secondary teachers to take one-year classes for which there is a definite scale of remuneration, and does not refer to voluntary work in Adult Schools, Educational Settlements, etc.

[1] p. 19, § 38 a ii. [2] p. 20, § 38 a ix.
[3] p. 19, § 38 a i.

VI

POLICY AND PROGRAMME

Not long ago two friends, one of them a German and a liberal Jew, the other an Englishman and a liberal Christian, sat listening in Frankfort to a political oration by the veteran Eduard Bernstein. For two hours and a half he spoke on the new programme recently adopted by his party. His argument was that this programme expressed the meaning and purpose of Karl Marx far more truly than the one it had superseded, though the earlier one had clung much more closely to the literal terms of Marx's writings. The two friends were irresistibly reminded of John Henry Newman and his Doctrine of Development. Old shibboleths could not stand in the light of new knowledge. Yet there was an evident sense that growth in experience and in the apprehension of truth involves no divorce from all that was essential in the earlier belief—is, indeed, rather an expansion and enrichment of it.

This illustration of parallel processes in the sphere of theology and economics respectively, bringing in, as it does, extreme types in each case, and showing the mutual reaction between life and thought, is an index to what is perpetually going on in the human mind and spirit. Just because "man was made to grow, not stop," education and religion have no fixed and finite goal. Each, so long as it has vitality, constantly gains glimpses of something a little further on, and bespeaks some still unsatisfied desire. The great fact to be emphasised is that ultimately they are out in different ways for the same thing. That they ought consciously to be comrades in one supreme quest is the first conclusion to

which our study of them in their actual relationship at the present time leads us. Nor should that comradeship be an affair of happy chance, maintained by casual circumstances. It must spring from their mutual recognition of an essential kinship, and must be wrought out into a policy of reciprocal and well-ordered activity.

No really " practical " man achieves anything unless hard thinking—his own or someone else's—has gone before his deed. A sound and effective policy, especially if it is to have important common elements, can only be built upon a basis of much more thoroughgoing thought about the relationship between education and religion than has thus far been given to it. Theory and practice cannot indeed be separated in reality. Progress demands the unceasing interplay of the two. But this hunger of ordinary men and women, realised and manifested in such a diversity of ways, for an ideal and a motive, for richer experience and deeper insight, for new and finer ways of living and acting on the part of both individuals and society, must be known for what it is before either education or religion, or both together, can hope to satisfy it, even in part.[1]

[1] Cf. Prof. Silvanus Thompson : " The truth is that thousands are seeking for something that has never yet been presented to them ; a religion that shall not be impossible for men of thought, knowledge, and reverence. . . . The point is that religious experiences in ourselves and in others, though acquired through the non-intellectual faculty of spiritual perception, are yet, if they are to be made fruitful, subject to being investigated and co-ordinated by the reasoning faculty. Man has no right either on the one hand to deny their reality, or on the other to refuse to endeavour to understand them. Religion as a fact of human consciousness is a proper subject for scientific investigation." *A Not Impossible Religion* (1918), pp. 10, 16. Also Dr. T. Reaveley Glover : " If, in spite of these unhappy early associations, religion has maintained itself in the respect of the peoples of the highest cultures—if, with every advance in thought, in powers of seeing and feeling, in social culture and in morals, religion has kept pace—then it may at least be argued that religion is not a regrettable survival from a bad past, a weakness of the feebler spirits of the race—an accident at best—but something inseparable from the rational life of man, something as inherent in human nature and as essential to it as art or morality or any other

If, as Dr. Olive Wheeler would have us believe, the philosophy of Bergson is a true guide to the practice of education, this recurrent human desire is proof that life is more than intelligence.[1] Yet we must learn if we would live and if we would exercise that power of spiritual creativeness which is the distinguishing mark of human and divine personality. Intelligence and intuition are alike indispensable to progress. A challenge to education becomes at the same time a challenge to religion, and *vice versa*. If the conclusion about the ultimate relationship between religion and education which we have set down as primary is indeed valid, the only satisfactory policy for the two will be that religion must be made more definitely educational while education takes a larger sweep and invariably includes the spiritual.

Dealing with the educative value of the New Testament, Professor Morgan Jones finds that both education and religion, dealing with "the living issues of the growing soul in the present and in the future," are concerned with securing among those who are to be educated the recognition of certain values—"and especially the supreme values of goodness, truth, and beauty. . . . These values may range from the power to read, write or count, through the physical sciences, political and social institutions, family, State, Church, to purely moral and spiritual values like brotherhood, faith, hope, love, forgiveness, freedom, humanity and God. What is significant educationally about them is not that they are the guarantee of present reality and future

expression and means of human life. . . . The progress in religion has been made at every stage by the thinkers more than by the mystics, and incomparably more by both than by the adherents of the cults. Man is always working at the unseen, to get it reduced to intelligible law and order, to make it more moral, more spiritual, more rational—to fit it more to his mind, to adjust his thought in turn to the unseen, to get a working unity in his experience and his conceptions. There never is such a thing as a simple faith; it is always intellectual; and the simplest faith is that for which thought has cleared the issues and got them into order and perspective." *Progress in Religion*, pp. 1, 13.

[1] Cf. *Bergson and Education.*

growth, and the strongest motives which lead to fuller life, but they all have their history and have grown out of history." [1]

Education for citizenship is indeed no other than this—the training of men and women to apprehend values aright, together with the development of those motives which will compel them to act in accordance with the truth about personal and corporate life as they see it. Education, rightly conceived, is the fashioning of a democracy, which must emerge in the thought of a community before it can be realised in practice. Religion is a quest for the Kingdom of God, and, as Dr. L. P. Jacks remarks, we shall perhaps interpret both God and the Kingdom of God more truly when we begin by regarding Him not as the great Potentate or the great Legislator, but as the great Educator.[2]

How, then, is all this to be worked out? For what concrete expression of it in the Churches and kindred organisations should we look?

Many protagonists of the Churches will say that not only is the general influence of the Church as a whole a very great educational force, but that the Churches individually are for the most part doing a great deal of detailed educational work. The results of our survey will be taken, from that point of view, as disproving once and for all the allegation that the Churches are inert and apathetic in this matter, and as affording sufficient evidence that they are, on the contrary, doing at least as much as it lies within their particular province to do.

In reply it must be said that the one fair deduction from the facts, so far as they have been ascertainable, is that the Churches are not altogether blind to their responsibilities, and are expending a considerable amount of energy, but

[1] *The New Testament in Modern Education*, pp. 7 f., 9, 46.

[2] Cf. *Legends of Smokeover* (n.d.). Cf. the insistence of Prof. Patrick Geddes and Mr. Victor Branford that the Church and the University are natural allies, and have the same objective in the reconstruction of Society. *The Coming Polity* (1919), pp. 232, 236, etc.

that far more system is needed if their educational work is to be adequate. Though the energy now displayed would certainly, if rightly directed, go far towards carrying through a more satisfactory educational programme, they must be prepared to make still greater demands upon their resources of time, personnel, premises, and money, if they are to accomplish their share of this great common task. Moreover, while they may be right in recognising their own limitations, and in looking to kindred organisations established mainly or wholly for the purpose of adult education as the proper agencies through which much that is now neglected ought to be achieved, such an attitude is not in itself sufficient ; there must be actual consultation and real co-operation ; mutual respect and toleration will not avail even as substitutes. But before trying to effect such a working partnership with their natural allies, the Churches must bring about greater unity of purpose and effort among themselves ; the " unhappy divisions " to which they are wont to refer with pious resignation must go if their own specific job is to be done.

On the other hand, those bodies to which we have referred as kindred organisations cannot afford to pay mere lip-service to the Churches, but must come to accept wholeheartedly the belief that no education is adequate which lacks what the Churches alone can give. They must recognise and claim the contribution that the Churches can make in the way of definite educational work within the actual four walls of the churches themselves, and must respond to any appeal for help in these activities that the Churches may make to them. They ought also to realise how much the Churches can do in sending them students, tutors, and leaders who will participate in the work which they, as organisations operating to a great extent outside the Churches but in unity with them, have in hand. But further than this, they need to appreciate the fact that the very life of the Church, its worship and fellowship (when normal and sincere) is an essential factor in that education which is to enable men and women to understand and respond fully to

the whole of their environment — unseen and timeless as well as seen and temporal.[1]

To this end these organisations also have much to rectify and improve within themselves. All of them need to be less shy of " religious " studies, and to give these their due place. Those of them which combine educational with social work (such as the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., and the Residential Settlements) have still in varying degrees to develop the educational element and integrate it with the social, so as to show that these two are not contradictory but complementary. The Adult School Movement needs to avoid the tendency to become a mere debating society on the one hand or an evangelistic mission on the other (according to local circumstances), and to take its best examples of the fulfilment of its own programme not as exceptional, but as a practical standard. The Educational Settlements must work out more fully what it is they mean when they say they are on a spiritual basis, and must see to it that they rest content with nothing less than the bringing together, for fellowship in education, of all sections of the community— church-going as well as churchless or anti-church.

When the Churches and kindred bodies have begun to pursue a similar policy of self-criticism, constructive reform of their own work, and co-operation in educational effort, they will come to their own with Local Education Authorities, Universities, and the Board of Education. They will be able to establish their claim, as serious educational agencies, to approval and assistance. They will be in a position to enable these civic and national bodies to fulfil the whole of their functions, as even now such bodies wish to do, though

[1] These paragraphs are of course equally applicable to what we have called the " neutral " voluntary organisations—W.E.A., Labour College, Co-operative Education Committee, etc. These are not treated in this chapter only because limits of space demand concentration upon that aspect of the whole movement generally left out of account in books, pamphlets, and discussions on the general subject of adult education, though they are an effective part of the movement, and should neither be omitted nor discussed as though they were separable.

at present they are limited so largely to " secular " effort because the other, which is just as much part of the life of the community and which has therefore just as much claim upon them, has been marked chiefly by inefficiency, or constantly and unnecessarily made the occasion of sectarian suspicions and struggles.

Turning to the individual church or congregation, we may urge once more that the wholeness of education should be kept in view. The Graded Sunday School idea has taken hold of the Churches, though it has not yet been applied universally. Graded Adult Education is the natural corollary, though this has not yet begun to be perceived. In the community at large we are beginning to see that even if we could secure such complete provision of primary and secondary education for all as Mr. Tawney and others are advocating, we should not thereby have removed the necessity for further education, but should only have increased the demand and prepared our prospective adult students to profit more fully from what would be provided for them through voluntary organisations, universities, and statutory bodies. So in the churches, there must be grading throughout. In addition to Bible classes, study circles, and teachers' preparation classes, each church or congregation should have its discussion groups (such as the missionary societies are developing), its study clubs (on the Catholic Social Guild plan), its adult schools, its terminal or sessional classes, and even its church tutorial classes, together with adequate library provision (in co-operation with the local library or the Central Library for Students). For some of these it may find combination with other churches (of its own or other denominations) in the neighbourhood necessary. In other cases it may be preferable to participate, for these very purposes, in the work of a local Educational Settlement. Every church can in any case strengthen the programme of its guilds, or similar societies, by including short series of lectures, consecutive or interspersed with other items, and ranging from quite elementary subjects and simple treatment of them to a course of university extension

lectures. Beyond all this it should see that its members avail themselves of opportunities which other organisations in the district may afford for the study of economics and politics, science and philosophy, history and literature, art and music. Any church can make far more within its own borders of music, drama, pageantry, handicraft, and other forms of creative and imaginative occupation than it generally does at present.

Clearly the individual church must consider much more carefully the time and special abilities of the personnel at its disposal, and must endeavour to utilise these fully and without waste. If there is anything like a true corporate spirit at all amongst the people of the church there will be no misunderstanding about "routine work." It will be held as high in honour as educational, pastoral, or preaching work, and readily undertaken by the rank and file, while those who are specially equipped for the more specialised types of service—ministers and lay people alike—will be set more free for these. More demands will be made, also, upon other people and organisations in the neighbourhood for leaders and teachers.

Again, the individual church must give serious thought to the use of its premises and the use of Sunday.[1] Worship must never be displaced. But why should great piles of buildings be designed practically for this purpose alone and be, not only unused, but unusable, for the greater part of the week? Small churches often have nothing but the actual church and a schoolroom. But with the development of the Graded School, ways and means are being found of providing classrooms and smaller halls, which can be utilised for adults also. Private houses will have to be the meeting-places of many small groups if anything like a full educational programme is to be carried out. But if the groups are on occasion brought together on the church premises a sense of unity and an avoidance of cliqueishness can be secured. One obvious desideratum is the brightening of some room on the church premises which can be treated

[1] Cf. *The Teaching Office of the Church*, pp. 29-30.

as the " Common Room " and centre of the church's adult educational work, always open in the evenings, well lighted and well heated, furnished with comfortable chairs, equipped with tables and supplied with books, so that men and women may come there for quiet reading or discussion.

As to Sunday, is there any reason for maintaining the fiction that any considerable number will attend two, or even three, services of public worship in the course of the day, provided that nothing else is arranged at service hours, and therefore allowing those services to exclude everything else ? Generally all available accommodation is taken up in the afternoons by the Sunday School, Bible classes, Brotherhoods, etc. There remain the morning and the evening. Given that most people are becoming " oncers " in their attendance at worship, both services are necessary in order to meet the convenience of those who are free *only* in the morning or *only* in the evening. (Early services hardly affect the situation under discussion, which is that of the prevailing use of the hours between 9.30 and 12.30 and 6 and 9.) Why should not the churches have classes going on at the same time as services ? Many working people, and even professional and business people, are free at no other time. The probability is that if the churches made fuller provision for different types of need on Sunday they would find, not only that attendance at services would not decrease—would rather increase—but that the number of people gathered together on Sundays for the purpose of study, fellowship, and worship would be redoubled. And if they cannot find room on their own premises, they can hold their own classes and groups elsewhere as well.

As we have already said, this kind of work will involve much more careful denominational and interdenominational organisation. Where one congregation cannot find sufficient members for a church tutorial class, three or four grouped together may easily do so. Similarly in the matter of subjects that people desire to take up in discussion groups, study clubs, and so forth, no individual church can hope to meet all needs, but all the churches in a neigh-

bourhood might publish a joint programme and encourage interchange of students. The training of leaders can only be done conjointly, by neighbouring churches in week-end schools, conference weeks, and so forth, and by towns or districts, counties or groups of counties, in summer schools. The sending of a student to one of the colleges for working people might be facilitated by denominational organisations, where the local churches are too poor. The special preparation of a teaching ministry is obviously a denominational question,[1] and the maintenance of such a ministry may be a matter principally for local groups of churches. The utilisation of the assistance of tutors and students in theological colleges is a similar problem. Again, the further development of missionary education, or education in social questions, through an improved educational organisation in the individual churches, is certainly a matter to be considered by various headquarters departments in co-operation with the individual churches. The utilisation of the educational machinery of bodies like the League of Nations Union or the National Home Reading Union should be planned out by the denominational or missionary society education departments, and put before the local churches or groups of churches. Clearly it is required of each denomination that it should have a central educational council—as the Society of Friends now has—for the discussion of policy, and an efficient department for the promotion of active work. One would like to see also a national inter-church Council of Education with a strong adult section.

Far more space than we can afford would be required in order to deal adequately with even the few suggestions made in the course of the last two or three pages. For they cannot be considered by themselves. They must be related to the possibilities of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., the Adult Schools, Settlements, and Colleges. There is not the same need to go into detail with regard to these bodies, because

[1] In the sense that no unit smaller than the national organisation of a Church is sufficiently large to deal with it. There might well be co-operation between Churches for the purpose.

they at least have their definite policies in adult education, while the churches, as such, have none. Their weaknesses and difficulties are much more in the region of leadership, standards, range of subject, premises, and finance. Many of these handicaps would be reduced, if not completely overcome, by closer co-operation between those organisations themselves, in the first place, and in the second by more direct relationships with the churches on the one hand and the neutral and official educational organisations on the other. Their respective national headquarters maintain contact and co-operate in detail with each other in a way that is not yet sufficiently normal in local centres. Even these headquarters are not (to their regret, be it said, and from no fault on their part) in a position to maintain contact and co-operation with the headquarters of the Churches as they would wish to do. They are linked with other educational organisations through unofficial bodies such as the British Institute of Adult Education and the World Association of Adult Education and of course through the Board of Education Advisory Committee on the Liberal Education of Adults, Mr. Fisher having taken steps, when he appointed that Committee, to secure that they should be represented upon it. But here again the Churches as such are missing. It is urgent that denominational headquarters should take up the question individually and conjointly, and get themselves into a position to participate adequately in national developments of this kind.[1]

Meantime we come back to the local community. As

[1] It may be pointed out that the British Institute of Adult Education is an independent body of representative people whose *raison d'être* is to consolidate and formulate the experience of adult education now available in this country and to enquire into the problems that it presents. The Churches might be well advised to approach the Institute together, with the request that it should appoint a Commission to enquire into and report upon Adult Education in the Churches in relation to other adult educational work in the country, for the Commission on Education in connection with the 1924 Conference on Christian Politics, Economics, and Citizenship has for many reasons been compelled to deal with the subject in very general terms.

before, we find that it offers the most obvious and effective area of co-operation. This is especially so in small towns and rural districts, where much that may appear impossible in the suggestions made above regarding the churches has been accomplished by co-operation with Educational Settlements, Rural Community Councils, and University Extra-mural Departments. In the case of the local community, even a Provisional Council such as that suggested by the Board of Education Adult Education Committee [1] is extremely desirable for the purpose of keeping all types of effort in perpetual contact, avoiding overlapping, and as far as possible exchanging help and filling gaps. But adult education must have a local habitation and a name. It gets this in churches, Y.M.C.A.'s, and adult schools, and nothing ought to be said that would tend to check an increase in the quantity and quality of work done by these bodies among their own members and on their own premises. But if anything has been made clear by our study of the situation it is that none of these alone, nor all of them working as unrelated entities, can bring about that education of all the adults in a community of which contact between *all* the varied groups of which the community is composed constitutes so vital a part. There can scarcely be any question that the Educational Settlement idea—and its realisation in certain instances—comes as near meeting the need of the whole community as anything that has yet been devised.[2] The Educational Settlement offers the necessary physical conditions with the required mental and spiritual freedom for individuals and groups. The fellowship at which it aims is possible only as those who create it do so on the ground of their differences and not merely of their similarities in circumstance, point of view, and special interests. Maintaining a high standard of quality, it disdains no method that will prove serviceable in the impartation of knowledge, the

[1] Report on *Local Co-operation*, p. 22.

[2] Cf. the British Institute of Adult Education special report on *The Guildhouse: a Co-operative Centre of Adult Education* (1924), which considers the possibilities from a national point of view.

quickening of imagination, and the strengthening of judgment. Asking no man his creed it unhesitatingly sets spiritual values in the first place. Claiming to be neither a church nor a university, it has so much in common with both that it develops spontaneously a natural working partnership with each. The creation of the people themselves, and not of authority, philanthropy, or class, it wins their confidence and offers them a natural resort. It is not a co-ordinating committee with an office, but a community effort at co-operation, with a Common-room. Started by church, adult school, Y.M.C.A., W.E.A., or what you will, it *is* neither, but can and not infrequently does express the life of all.

VII

AD UNUM OMNES

When recently the King and Queen visited the Swindon locomotive shops they received a unique welcome from the workmen. Moulds had been prepared, and into these the workmen poured molten metal which formed in living fire before the eyes of the distinguished guests the words *Ad unum omnes*. Next morning *The Times* commented, with mingled surprise and pleasure, upon the choice of such a phrase, rather than of some popular vulgarism, as an evidence of the extent to which education is spreading among the democracy. But the incident is a parable of much deeper significance.

One of the main ideals in the service of which this book has been written is that of an integrated adult education movement in England. Special attention has been devoted to one group of organisations and to one field of study because these have not as yet taken their proper place in the movement as it exists. In order to bring the subject within ordinary limits, no attempt has been made to discuss it in relation to the other parts of Great Britain, and still less to the British Empire or to the world; but if the principle is accepted for England it demands international and world-wide application.[1]

Of necessity the treatment of it has been to a great degree in terms of organisation. But what matters most in the end is the growth of that life and spirit which will not fail to take appropriate form if they are in themselves vigorous and healthy. Even as an attempt to contribute something

[1] The work of the World Association for Adult Education is of course a step towards this.

towards practical progress, however, these pages would fail of their purpose if the central idea were obscured. It is fitting, therefore, that in a culminating chapter we should gain if possible some glimpse of the vision which, as we may well believe, is inspiring many ardent men and women in different sections of the movement, though these very people have hardly yet realised how much they have in common.

Integration is a word without charm. Yet we use it here advisedly. Unity, co-ordination, and even co-operation are terms misunderstood or inadequate. They suggest loss of identity rather than the building up of a body that has many members with diverse functions, machinery rather than life, mere choice or inclination rather than necessary and fundamental relationship. What we have in mind is not something that can be planned and constructed according to plan, but something that *is*, and grows as its own nature shall determine, though it is responsive to cultivation and training.

The desire for integration is dominant in the world at the present time. It is the prevailing note in religion, politics, and social life. To say so may appear clean contrary to hard fact. As an answer to the pessimism which is apt to result from reflection upon the situation described in the opening chapter of this book [1] such an assertion may well seem like the desperate dogmatism of a sentimental optimist. Yet if we look closely at the state of affairs in religion, politics, industry, and social life, we shall find ample reason for reiterating it. Where discord and antagonism are at first sight only too apparent, it will often prove to be because the process of integration is going on within groups which cannot become properly related to each other till they have arrived at a better understanding of their own specific nature, function, and aims. Again, divisions are generally most discussed and deplored when those between whom they exist are at least convinced that the gulf ought not to be there at all, and are really anxious to discover how to deal effectually with it.

[1] Vol. I. Ch. I.

Thus, to speak of "the Church" has been, not only since the Reformation, but since the fourth century, a mere convention, and to argue about its policy, whether in education or in anything else, a futile occupation. There are so many Churches, and to-day there are more than ever. If the phrase "*the* Church" has any meaning, it is either as indicating the whole company of Christian people in the world now—and, of course, the successive generations of such men and women from the days of the Twelve Disciples to our own—or else as insisting on the claim of a particular body of Christians to an authenticity which others do not and cannot possess. It may be a matter of generations yet before the Churches achieve corporate unity. Indeed, such unity may turn out to be an impossibility—not so much because of the intransigence of the various Churches as because in itself it is an utterly false quest. The present writer, at any rate, believes unity to lie far deeper, and he is therein not cherishing a new or uncommon idea. Not even the most exclusive among the Churches is really prepared wholly to deny the claims of the others nowadays, though it may boggle at calling them by the name. The hopeful sign is that by mutual consent questions of creeds, theologies, and orders are being thought out anew, quietly and fearlessly, while concrete experiments are being made in such fruitful fields as those of social service in the home countries or medical and educational missions abroad. Diversities of operations are coming to be understood as an aid to the discovery of the richness of that Spirit in which there is unity.

So, again, among political parties in this and other countries we are seeing worked out before our eyes an unexampled process of integration. Each stands for a distinctive theory, but when a practical programme is in question it is frequently impossible to say that a given proposal belongs to one more than to either of the others. Further, it will become clear before long, if it is not so already, that for some time to come nothing will be gained by one party's attempting to absorb another. Their characteristic

principles are complementary, and not, as is so commonly supposed, mutually destructive. Integration is the very opposite of that unvarying uniformity which all autocrats (whether Imperialist, Laissez-faire, or Bolshevik) endeavour to impose upon a nation. And if we look beyond the bounds of the individual nation we see the same tendency to integration at work, though frequently in a strange guise. A political party, especially in its early phases and again when it is threatened with decline, is apt to be exclusive and doctrinaire in its attempt to develop and preserve the element of good which it is conscious of possessing. But that is an instance of *corruptio optimi pessima*, since it is only by maintaining its identity that it can make its contribution, along with other parties, to the welfare and progress of the State. Similarly nations may overemphasise nationalism, groups of nations may effect alliances regarded as dangerous by the rest of the world. Yet these are partial integrations preparatory to the complete integration in which alone peace and prosperity for all mankind can be found. France, driven by anxiety for security to the cultivation of friendship with the Little Entente; the British Commonwealth of Nations, held together by common traditions and interests (the Irish, Indian, and South African problems notwithstanding); the League of Nations, incomplete, prevented by the very Treaty constituting it from dealing with the international problems which make it impossible for the League to function in vital respects so long as they are unsolved—all these are witnesses to the growing eagerness of nations for integration, though their dearest purpose is endangered by their shortsighted tendency to turn necessary but temporary limitations in practice into permanent ones.

A century ago organised labour had only just won a legal right to existence and action. There was unrest and revolt on the part of workpeople who realised how infamously they were being exploited. Indignation and suspicion marked the attitude of many employers towards the "hands" who had begun to assert that the master's

interest was not necessarily coincident with the man's well-being. Peterloo happened. The antagonism between employers and employed increased. All the time British markets were both secure and constantly enlarging. Profits were high, and unemployment comparatively slight, save in exceptional circumstances. To-day there is a struggle for world markets. Pressure to increase output is exerted by forces quite independent of the desire to accumulate unlimited profits. Employers and employed are highly organised. There are perpetual disputes, strikes, lock-outs, courts of enquiry, arbitrations. On the face of it industry might present the appearance of disintegration rather than the opposite. Yet employers would view the break-up of trade unions with dismay, and in the recent Southampton dispute the employers declared a lock-out as much for the purpose of assisting the national unions concerned to maintain discipline as for that of forcing a few thousand recalcitrant workmen to surrender unreasonable claims. On the other hand, the unions prefer to deal with associations of employers rather than with individual firms. Collective bargaining has become one of the pillars of modern industrial organisation in England, and the United States suffer severely because such a reactionary attitude as that of the " open shop " group is still possible there. In England it is in the unorganised trades that wages remain low, the quality of work unreliable, and output uncertain. Integration has made great progress in the ranks of Labour on the one side and in those of Capital on the other. If these now occupy the position of opposed armies it is because the next step in the process is too long delayed. Already the interdependence of the two is sufficiently understood by the chief representatives of both to render impossible on either side the continuance of crude notions as to which shall have unquestioned control. The only elimination possible is that of the " capitalist " who does not even manage his own money, but merely takes the interest on what probably came to him in the first place by pure chance of inheritance, and equally of the " labourer " who is no more than a human

machine, unintelligent and unambitious, selling his muscular effort at the current rate. In actual industry, so far as it is normally healthy, all work, whatever their function, and all have a voice, in one degree or another. But for the attainment of its true end, which is that of making the most of common resources in the service of humanity at large, industry must be integrated at first within itself, and then with all the other aspects of human life. To this we are moving, though so slowly, and the International Labour Office established in connection with the League of Nations is perhaps foremost among existing guarantees of greater progress.

As to social life, class-consciousness and the resultant cleavage are more intense and deep than perhaps at any previous period in the development of the race. Akin to this, as a situation pregnant with evil possibilities, is the colour conflict—as old as the caste-system in India, and probably paralleled under civilisations yet more ancient. Yet what are these but the reaction of the unprivileged against the privileged? A minority has sought to safeguard its power, its wealth, its culture, by methods of exclusion. That is a sin against the nature of humanity, and the result is inevitable. The masses are stung into self-assertion, then into aggression, and as a rule they proceed to as great an extreme of exclusiveness as those whose selfishness has forced them by attempted segregation into a consciousness of unity—though only the unity of a section. And here, too, the process of integration awaits completion; the achievement of a partial or narrowly conceived oneness, though perhaps an inevitable stage in the development of a perfect wholeness in society, is perilous if it is mistaken for the final synthesis. The common sense of humanity is reinforcing its idealism in the effort to ensure that, by the coming of that which is perfect, that which is in part shall be done away.

In the realms of knowledge as well as in those of action this same process of integration is at work. Science becomes increasingly specialised, but the specialists themselves

hesitate to draw sharp dividing lines between their respective spheres after the manner which was obvious to their less learned predecessors. Who, for example, will venture now to cut physics, chemistry and biology asunder " as with a hatchet " ? Yet the three were never in less danger of being confused. Or again, it is significant that an increasing number of students who intend to devote their lives to the study of psychology consider it essential first to take an ordinary medical degree course ; the business of the psychologist is to discover how personality attains supremely effective unity—and the doctor is busy with much the same task, while teacher and parson are no whit behind ; and from personal life to group life all four find the transition obvious. If we turn to the study of history we are compelled to agree with Dr. G. P. Gooch, who says that " in speaking about citizenship in the year 1923, we must speak about world citizenship " ; the great War, because it so nearly ended in a universal crash of civilisation, also taught us that whether we like it or not we are " bound up in the bundle of life " with all contemporary humanity ; therefore it is that we are not staggered when Dr. Gooch goes on to say : " One of the tasks of the historian is to realise that his duty is to enquire into and explain the whole life of humanity. . . . It is impossible to deal with the history of any one country in isolation from the main stream of human development. . . . What are the most fundamental elements in our national life and in the nationality of every modern State ? The first is race, the second is language, and the third is religion." [1]

Philosophy is usually considered as essentially a study of the ultimate groundwork and unity of all knowledge and experience. Our forefathers were wise when they did not set it in a place of isolation, but spoke of " natural " and " moral " philosophy as well as of " pure philosophy " or metaphysics. We use the term science much more freely, and talk of natural science, applied science, the science of politics, the science of ethics, mathematical science, and the rest, but

[1] J. G. Whitehouse and G. P. Gooch : *Wider Aspects of Education* (1924), pp. 1, 8.

without the suggestion of integration more aptly conveyed by the reference to philosophy. Nevertheless there is nothing more patent to teachers in our own time who know their business than that they exist to help others first to see and think for themselves and then to "think things together." This is indeed the great function of a university. To attain such a habit of mind is to be educated.[1] But the child learning to speak, before he is old enough to go even to a nursery school, is beginning already to appreciate the fact that he is set in the midst of a great world to which he must adjust himself in a thousand ways, and yet which remains as much one as he himself is conscious of being one.

If, then, education is essentially integrative, it is in harmony with all the other experiences and activities of which we have taken but a few examples. Furthermore, if this is the principle which should animate all education, it clearly should be applied to the many types of organisation through which educational purposes are pursued. This is not the place in which to enlarge upon the interdependence of the recognised stages of education—nursery, primary, secondary, university, technical, adult.[2] But we may remark, in passing, that before 1918 Local Education Authorities were in many instances already manifesting, both in their general attitude and in their practical administrative policy, their sense of the unity underlying all these phases and their desire to accept responsibility in connection with each—a fact which no doubt encouraged Mr. Fisher to make the Act of 1918 so comprehensive in its outline, though disproportionate in its development of detail. When, therefore, for the special purposes of this book, we lay stress upon the need of an integrated adult education movement, we are

[1] As Dr. Cyril Norwood, Master of Marlborough, has recently written: "The ideal of unity in diversity, and diversity in unity, is one which only the educated can understand, and interpret in charity. . . . Our inspiration lies in our religion, and our means lie in education." Essay in *Education and Religion* (1924), p. 71.

[2] For a brief treatment of this topic, more particularly from the standpoint of adult education, see the present writer's *Working Out the Fisher Act* (1921), pp. 41-47, 82-85.

discussing the application of a principle that runs right through the actual educational scheme to which the statutory educational organisations of the country are committed. And as we have seen, it is also traceable in all the main movements of our national life and international relationships. It is a natural and constructive force. It is no mere academic idea, or piece of arbitrary and artificial pattern-making. We have glanced at some of the contemporary circumstances in which it finds expression. Had we glanced back over the history of our kind we should have found it revealed as clearly there—then, as now, by the blunders and the deliberate sins against the light which other generations in all lands have committed as much as by the steady and triumphant advance which from time to time they have made.

At present not more than one per cent. of the population of England is being reached by organised effort in adult education. If this be so, obviously no one organisation or type could ever hope to overtake the task, even if by any sort of miracle its own resources expanded tenfold and it beat all rivals out of the field. All are needed, for each can win response from sections of the community for which the others have no attraction. But it is not enough to say that there is room, and more than room, for all. If anything like a deep and abiding impression is to be made upon even a considerable minority of adults in this country there is need of a more evident unity of purpose throughout the whole adult education movement. This does not imply uniformity of method, similarity of starting-point, loss of independence on the part of the various agencies at work, or any other of the bugbears raised by those whose concern is for their own particular brand of education, or for the special organisation to which they belong, rather than for the development of an educated democracy. It does mean mutual understanding, sympathy, respect, and co-operation.

Yet, however true it may be that in view of the immensity of the task confronting us all efficiency and common sense demand that we should work together as fully as possible,

the counting of heads will avail us little, whether we do it in hope or in fear. A handful of men can change the whole world. It has happened again and again in history. But this has been because of their quality. Everything depends upon the nature of the gospel they have to preach, the extent to which what they declare is ultimate truth, and the fulness with which they relate it to the whole of truth. What is it that we desire to do for England ? We see the process of integration going slowly forward in the different aspects of her life. We would fain hasten this, and help to produce an emancipated, unified, creative society wherein each individual personality finds self-fulfilment through service, a nation capable of attaining to right relationships with all others in a world harmonised with a universe of truth, beauty and goodness. We know that this can come about only as the expression of a spirit which it is the business of education to foster. Therefore we seek an integrated adult education movement which, by ways such as we have considered in some detail, shall be able to conserve and multiply all our available resources of men, money, and machinery, resulting in a greater freedom for each distinctive group to work out its own contribution. But all this is only secondary. The supreme question is, what *kind* of truth are we going to offer to the people, in order that by it they may attain to fulness of life, and to the service that is perfect freedom ?

If an integrated adult education movement has been one of the ideals dominant in these pages, the other is that of the integration of truth. The first will arrive naturally as the second is genuinely sought, and only so. Nor can the life of the individual or of the nation be brought to its destined wholeness save in the light and by the power of the whole truth. That is why all our differing organisations are needed, as all the others which undoubtedly will arise will be needed too. But that is also why none of them can succeed alone. Diverse as they are, they have great common possessions. These, as we have tried to show, are the spiritual values which correspond to the truth of the

Universe, to the innermost life of God. We are dealing with something sacramental, and a sacrament involves community. It is an exchange, a completion of each life by what it finds in the others.

Thus we find ourselves carried from the plane of organisation, finance, and other familiar, necessary aspects of our common work to the altitude where we are constrained to examine our philosophy of life, and to seek a fellowship that is both spiritual and practical. In that clear atmosphere we cannot pretend that the truth which we and our particular company have seen, tremendous and undeniable as it is to us, will satisfy all the needs of humankind. We perceive that it is inevitably more or less sectional. It may remain inexpressibly precious to us, and we may feel that we are specially charged to spread the knowledge of it among our fellows. But we shall realise that its worth to us and to the rest of the world resides first in its having enriched life for us with certain spiritual values, and then in the proof it offers us of the existence of a whole universe of such values. It sets us upon the quest of them all, and we find that other companies of seekers have discovered more about some of those values than we have done. Thus our groups are brought together in mutual enrichment, not simply because all are bent upon a common adventure, but because our goal is no archipelago ; it is a continent. Truth is not one because we make it so. It is one by nature, and we at length find this out, just as Columbus, at first thinking that he had landed upon an island, had in reality discovered the mainland of the new world.

Courage and catholicity are required on a scale altogether new if progress is to be made in the direction which we have indicated. A narrow intensity is as harmful to the common cause as an invertebrate tolerance. The pursuit of truth is a strenuous business. Just because our human limitations make it as impossible for us to see the whole at one time as to see both sides of a ball at once, we are bound to give ourselves unreservedly to the exploration of the part we do see. But this very fact should remind us that the people

who are directing their energies with equal vigour to the elucidation of another part—probably on the other side of the ball—are neither fools nor knaves, but fellow-workers. Those whose pursuit of truth is genuine find it a kindly business. The essential thing is that we should mingle courage with catholicity in our endeavours. Either by itself is apt to become exaggerated, and to make us either purblind or halting.

Curiously enough, the prevailing tendency among the groups which make up the adult education movement is to cultivate one of these virtues at the expense of the other. This is the most serious difficulty with which those who seek to bring about any measure of integration have to contend. Apparently it is supposed that the two are irreconcilable. Such a view betrays lack of a satisfactory philosophy of life, and even of the philosophic mind. It shows that the ultimate unity of truth, the impossibility that one form of truth should be essentially contradictory of any other form, has not yet been grasped. It was doubtless from very mixed motives that the Council of Jerusalem accepted Gamaliel's advice as to what they should do with Peter and his fellow-apostles.[1] In some among that assembly his words touched the chords of a noble faith in the constitution of things. For most it was a matter of calculating prudence, or of something very like fanaticism. But Socrates before him, Galileo and Luther centuries later and, above all, the Founder of Christianity himself, were moved by the loyalty that was the secret of Gamaliel's wisdom. A fearless and warm-hearted devotion to truth about man and the universe would do more for us than even the most irreproachable impartiality of mind. It would cause us instinctively to turn from both dogmatism and pusillanimity, lest in the end we be found in conflict with the ideals that we cherish most deeply, the forces which we know to be real and prevailing, the spiritual values wherein we come to know God.

[1] "If this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to naught; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God." Acts v, 38-39.

Yet, from a synthetic point of view, it is surely all to the good that the many organisations which we have passed in review have developed so strongly a variety of individual characteristics. It needs but the practice by each of this same courage and catholicity to produce that unity in diversity through which all things are possible. The working-class education movement has taught us that if education is ever to become widespread among the people it must be an education which, as George Fox would have said, "speaks to their condition." It must have a social motive and a social application. An educated democracy will indubitably create a new world. Passionate desire for a better order of society, a finer environment, a more equitable distribution of true wealth, a positive freedom for each personality, is for many the most effective spur to educational effort. What is hastily set down as revolutionary materialism is often in reality practical creativeness. On the other hand, the insistence that spirit and character come first in importance, whether for the regeneration of society or for the emancipation of the individual, is as legitimate and potent an inspiration. To dismiss as sectarianism or otherworldly pietism all that relates to the souls of men, as contrasted with what concerns their bodies and their minds, is to be not only without God, but without hope in the world —an inevitable sequence which was long ago seen to account for the downfall of one pagan civilisation after another. The Christian basis of education must be asserted as boldly as the social, if for no other reason than that the two, when properly and honestly interpreted, are inseparable.[1] But this means that the Labour College and the Church Tutorial Class have much to learn from each other. To state reasons for promoting education is not to make the education itself either partisan or inefficient in character. But it will be

[1] Cf. Dr. Cyril Norwood: "Such, then, intellectually conceived, is in broad outline the manner in which religion should shape and inspire our education, such the horizon to which it should look. It will not be in one subject of our learning more than another, or in one stage of our learning more than another: it will be in all, a spirit behind everything we do." *Op. cit.* p. 67.

found by experience that *all* the valid reasons must be taken into account, and that no violent enthusiasm engendered by deep feeling or preconceived doctrines will serve in place of wide knowledge and sound mental discipline to bring about the desired consummation.

Again, the W.E.A. has shown the necessity and value of amalgamating, by means of group-work, academic knowledge and practical experience. The students bring from factory, mine, and workshop as real a contribution to constructive thought as the tutor brings from his university. Surely, then, the factor of religious experience, the first-hand knowledge of contact between the eternal and the temporal, the personal and social realisation of unity between God, man, and nature, cannot fairly or safely be omitted. True, it perpetually creeps in and will not be denied. But why should we be more shy of recognising it and using it to the full than we are of admitting and drawing upon any other form of experience ? Church, Adult School, Tutorial Class and Plebs Class have once more something to give each other, something, moreover, without which neither can fulfil its distinctive purpose. There is no greater need in England at the present time than that of political education in the fullest sense of the term. The three political parties are all strengthening their research departments, arranging educational campaigns, carrying on Summer Schools and even Colleges. But politics is an affair of the spirit, or it is the most perilous form of mingled demagogy and mob-tyranny conceivable. In so far as it is the first it is related to every aspect of the study and fellowship that has a place in adult education. For that very reason it ought, except in its legitimate business of propaganda, to give and to receive as a true member of the educational commonwealth.

All these interests, and many more, interact to make the life of a community. The Educational Settlement approaches the community as a whole, overlooking no educational need or possibility, and giving pre-eminence to none. It does not seek to force an artificial unity, whether of standpoint or of organisation. Its purpose is to afford

natural affinities an opportunity of development through social intercourse and in face of the common task. The bond that holds the groups which constitute it is nothing more or less than mutual recognition of the supremacy of spiritual values. Surely from its experience the adult education movement has something to learn as to the conditions of true integration.

It cannot be reiterated too often or too emphatically that education and propaganda are distinct, separable, and equally legitimate activities. It is the confusion of the two, whether unconscious or deliberate, that has complicated our educational problems so unnecessarily. This alone has hindered the State and statutory authorities from playing their due part in the efforts which must be initiated and carried on by voluntary organisations for adult education. When these, for the sake of their propagandist interests no less than for their educational, have put education and propaganda in their proper places and have developed sound educational activities, whether elementary or advanced, whether by old and tested methods or by new and no less effective ones, then the same demand for courage and catholicity may be made of the Board of Education and the Local Education Authority. In particular they should withhold their help from no study of subjects related to religion or politics in the sense in which a University teaches them.

For at bottom the integration of the adult education movement rests upon the unity of personality, which is reflected in the unity of society, and which has its source in the oneness of the life of God and of the universe. This may be esteemed a matter of faith, but it is at least not discordant with reason. It may be regarded as an intuition, rather than as the conclusion of a logical argument, but if that be so it is an intuition which bears all the marks of correspondence with reality. No unresolved dualism has ever yet satisfied the minds of men, stirred their spirits to creative activity, or drawn them nearer to the achievement of an ideal society. Thought must be at one with feeling and both with will if a great life is to be lived. Indeed, person-

ality is the inscrutable unity of which all three are expressions. And no harmonised personality can live and grow fully and happily in a world and a universe where any discord endures. The distinctive characteristic of a living personality is its power to maintain its identity, its differences from others, while coming into an ever closer unity with those others. Without abiding differences communion would be dull and lifeless; without the essential unity it would be impossible. Without treating a metaphor as an argument, or begging the question of group-personality, we may at least say that a similar law holds between the groups within our English adult educational movement. The great treasure in which all share is that of the spiritual values by which in fact they all live, and for the fuller understanding and application of which they were all created. Their differences of emphasis, of appeal, of method, of interest, of immediate purpose, are the great means by which they may enrich each other as well as themselves. And as they come nearer, each in their own way, to the vision and the enjoyment of the infinitely real, they must needs discover that there is no more profound or richly satisfying interpretation of human life and destiny than in those words of the Great Intercession—"that they all may be one."

BY WAY OF EPILOGUE

"Yet I am withal persuaded that it may prove much more easy in the assay, than it now seems at a distance, and much more illustrious; howbeit, not more difficult than I imagine, and that imagination presents me with nothing but very happy, and very possible according to best wishes; if God have so decreed, and this age have spirit and capacity enough to comprehend."

JOHN MILTON: *On Education.*

PART III

A DETAILED SURVEY OF ADULT EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN CHURCHES AND KINDRED ORGANISATIONS

SECTION 1

PRELIMINARY

Generalisations unsupported by evidence are not convincing. Even though the writer of these pages may be given credit for basing the conclusions, comments and suggestions contained in previous chapters upon as thorough a study of the facts as the circumstances allow, it is clearly incumbent upon him to furnish his readers with sufficient information to enable them to judge for themselves. Moreover, one of the purposes to be fulfilled by this enquiry was that of arriving at some useful estimate of the quantity and quality of the work actually being done. Difficult as it is to obtain adequate evidence, however, the details are too voluminous to be set down here in full, if we except that concerning certain national organisations, local institutions, and individual experiments. For the rest we must content ourselves with specimens, chosen as far as possible not with a view to proving any theory or assertion, but as typical of what is being done in a considerable number of places. The reader is therefore asked to remember not only that he can verify the type for himself within any reasonably large area of population, but that the writer is drawing upon a mass of documentary evidence—programmes, reports, letters and memoranda—gathered from all parts of the country.[1]

[1] Where possible and specially desirable—as in the case of national movements and particular experiments—the information has been brought up to the date of sending this book to press. Other instances belong chiefly to the years 1920-1921, but they are of such a kind that no material difference would be made by going all over the ground again in order to collect details about 1923-1924. Cf. Preface, Vol. I.

Thus a paragraph from the Report of the Commission which recently enquired into the educational work of the Congregational Churches may be taken to apply in the main to the other Free Churches as well, and can be paralleled from the Archbishops' Committee's Report on The Teaching Office of the Church :

" The educational work of the Church is carried out, we may say, by three chief means—the pulpit ministry, the Sunday School, and the week-night work of specialised groups and societies. Do these together constitute a sufficient and satisfactory means of providing a Christian education in the sense of this Report ? To this question we should be inclined to reply at once that, speaking broadly, *the combined activities of Church and Sunday School form, or at least are coming to form, an adequate means of Christian Education for children, provided that they are staffed with teachers adequately trained ; but that the means of education provided for the youth and adult membership of our Churches (including those who teach in Sunday School) is far less adequate. . . .* " [1]

The Report proceeds to say that the Churches concern themselves far too little with the definite education of young adults in religious and cultural subjects, while there is no evidence (beyond that of a few individual experiments) of any attempt to meet the needs of adults from the age of twenty-five onwards.[2]

For younger adults the Bible Class or " Senior Class " in the Sunday School is still in some instances a very effective instrument of education, though it is now far from being the universal institution throughout the Churches that it once was. Even where it exists it has too often become very topical and discursive in character, and in many cases no longer takes the form of continuous study. Where it has been replaced by a " preparation class " for teachers in the Primary, Junior, or Intermediate Department of a Sunday School this frequently has great educational value, especially if, in addition to the study of the actual lesson-material and

[1] *The Church as a School of Christian Education* (1922), p. 43 (italics theirs).

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 90, 100.

the framing of the "story," there is also some study of psychology and of the history, archaeology, and literature relevant to the series of lessons. The Report already quoted, though remarking that despite much excellent work done here and there the total provision is "distinctly inadequate," speaks of the actual and potential value of Bible and Training Classes :

"Bible-classes and study-circles of various kinds stand as evidence of the educational instinct of our churches. Classes for the training of Sunday School Teachers and other workers in the Church are plentiful, and increasing both in numbers and in efficiency. Perhaps most hopeful of all is the rising standard of work that is being done for the training of young Church-members, both in preparation for their admission into the Church, and immediately afterwards, in order to equip them for the responsibilities which, as members, they are taking up in the name of Christ. . . .

"Many ministers and laymen have a weekly class for young men and women, held on Sundays. Such a class would afford the leader the opportunity, not only of teaching the great doctrines of our Christian Faith, but also of relating these to the various aspects of life—such as Art, Education, Social Values, Industry, and International Relationships." [1]

This point of view is taken in a letter from a minister who is a brilliant and scholarly preacher, and has worked in Scotland, the Midlands, the Eastern Counties, and London :

"I have already in my Churches had senior Bible-classes, and the instruction given in them has varied according to the capacity of the teachers whom I was fortunate enough to be able to put in charge of them. These classes in the North were strong and well attended ; in the South they are less so, chiefly because, under the graded system, the young men and women more quickly become Sunday School teachers, and, I fancy, receive similar instruction in their teachers' conferences. I have had a catechumen class with a view to Church membership for many years, and am conducting something similar to this now." [2]

A letter from a Yorkshire watering-place says that both the Young Men's class and the Young Women's class on

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 46, 81. [2] For remainder of letter, see p. 306 *infra.*

Sunday afternoons use the *Adult School Lesson Handbook* as the basis of their papers and discussions, while a third correspondent writes :

"In our Young Men's Bible Class, which is composed of our own young men and a number of students from the University, we went through Paton's *Jesus Christ and the World's Religions*, and for the remaining Sundays we took the Adult School Lessons." [1]

An interesting experiment in Liverpool is the establishment by co-operation among all the Free Churches of one denomination of a regular and continuous school for Bible study, chiefly for the benefit of Sunday School teachers. A qualified and ordained woman minister was invited to the charge of a downtown church, which had suffered considerable decline in prosperity, and the premises were made the centre of this educational work, carried on by a staff of three ladies, including the minister. The syllabus states that students work in small groups. The Junior are intended primarily for those who have had little or no teaching experience, the Intermediate are intended to meet the needs of older students who may have had teaching experience but are not trained teachers, while the Senior Groups are intended for trained teachers, and leaders of Departments. Each group meets once a week for three terms in the year. The curriculum is as follows :

Juniors (1st year). Making of the Old Testament. Period between the Testaments. Life of Christ. (2nd year.) Lesson Preparation, Methods, etc. The Prophets. Teaching of Jesus.

Intermediates (1st year). Making of the Old Testament. The Prophets. Kingdom of God. (2nd year.) Use of Old Testament Material in Lesson Preparation. Introduction to Social Study. Teaching of Jesus. Life and Work of St. Paul.

Seniors (1st year). Making of the Old Testament. Malachi to Matthew. Teaching of Jesus. (2nd year.)

[1] For remainder of letter, see p. 308 *infra*.

Growth of the Conception of God in the Old Testament. Paulinism. Special Book.

This perhaps takes us rather far from the Bible Class, but it suggests the kind of work that is being done, in place of the older type of Bible Class, for Sunday School Teachers. Many Sunday School Unions in large towns arrange series of lectures or classes on similar lines, though perhaps less thorough. The " extension weeks " of the Westhill College are described elsewhere.

A West-country minister says of this sort of work, carried on, as in so many cases, within the individual church and for the teachers of a particular Sunday School :

" I regard as the most valuable work being done the continuous preparation classes for Sunday School Teachers. Our school is graded throughout, and we have some 60 teachers. I am glad to say that the preparation classes are held regularly and the attendance is extremely good. For about four months recently I took over the leadership of one department pending the appointment of a new leader. There were 10 teachers and the average attendance was 9. Five of our leaders are trained teachers (secondary and elementary), and I attribute the success largely to that fact. These preparation classes are genuinely educational. The Intermediate Department especially has become a real study-circle in which the members take part freely." [1]

In one preparation class that has come under the present writer's observation, the training of young teachers to tell stories from the life of St. Paul to children between eight and twelve years of age was so thorough that books like Glover's *Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire* were brought into requisition, and subjects like Stoicism keenly discussed, not that any specific reference might be made in the stories, but in order that the teachers should appreciate the atmosphere in which St. Paul lived and understand his world, so that they might follow the development of his character and thought. In the same class a considerable amount of the history of the great Empires

[1] For remainder of evidence from this correspondence, see pp. 305 f., 308 *infra*.

contemporary with the development of the Jewish people during the centuries 8-4 B.C. was studied in order to set the lives and activities of Nehemiah and the Minor and Major Prophets of the Old Testament against their proper background. Similar testimony comes from many churches where the Graded Sunday School method is followed.

While in perhaps the majority of churches the Adult Bible Class has ceased to be the sole or the central method of Adult Education, and the graded method of Sunday School organisation, with its special preparation classes for the teachers, has thus far been adopted in comparatively few, there is a great mass of activities, more or less educational in character, which it is very difficult to classify.

Probably the clearest method of grouping these activities is under the main headings of :

1. General descriptions obtained from the headquarters of denominations and societies.

2. More detailed statements received from representative individual churches and congregations.

3. Accounts of special experiments.

It will be convenient to set forth this evidence in separate sections.

SECTION 2

CENTRALLY ORGANISED EDUCATIONAL WORK IN THE CHURCHES

Recently the Society of Friends has established a Central Education Committee with a view to stimulating and co-ordinating the various forms of educational activity, whether for children, for adolescents, or for adults, carried on within the Society. This, however, would appear to be the only instance at present in which a denomination has effectively brought together the various branches and grades of study with which its members are concerned. It is fairly safe to say that where, in other cases, denominational organisations for adult education exist they each deal with one type of work—Bible Study, Christian Missions, or Social Study. Some denominations also have departmental organisations for the training of Sunday School teachers and lay-preachers. In the matter of preparing Sunday School teachers for their task there is among the Free Churches much more inter-denominational effort, and there are more societies and institutions constituted on an interdenominational basis, than in the other fields of study. The Mission Study Movement has always afforded an outstanding example of co-operation between the societies of all the Churches except the Roman in framing their respective policies and preparing the necessary literature, but the organisation of the actual study has been mainly a matter for the individual society. Then we must take into account the various Fellowships, both denominational and interdenominational, most of which have a very considerable educational influence and value. Finally, there are various independent movements, such as the Brotherhoods, or the Industrial Christian

Fellowship, which are so closely connected with the life of the Churches as to be practically part of it.[1]

Owing to the peculiarities of its constitution and organisation, the Church of England has had no means by which any adult education movement among its members could be started as, or become, an integral part of its national machinery. Whether the development of the National Assembly, when it has had time to dispose of the innumerable and longstanding problems of a technical character with which it must first deal, will make possible a representative and co-ordinating body responsible for fostering adult education in the Church of England as a whole, remains to be seen. At present the work has to be done on the diocesan principle, and either a voluntary central group works outwards through the dioceses, or the dioceses voluntarily set up a central group to co-ordinate and extend their otherwise separate efforts. Among the Free Churches there are in many cases special departments at their respective headquarters, but these have generally come into existence in response to a growing activity on the part of local congregations, or district synods, unions, and so forth. Both the Anglican and the Free Church Missionary Societies remain, in practically every instance, independent entities working in close alliance with the denominations which they represent, but maintaining and developing their own educational departments.

In Biblical study the most clear-cut and advanced work has been done by the Central Church Reading Union, the Vacation Term for Biblical Study, and the Bible-study Week. The more recent efforts of the Church Tutorial Classes Committee are described below under the heading of Special Experiments. Lectures on Biblical subjects arranged by the Churches in conjunction with the University Extension Movement are considered in Sections 8 and 9 of this survey.

[1] The educational work of the Student Christian Movement belongs rather to a study of University education than to that of adult education.

(I)

The Central Church Reading Union, which was formerly known as the Central Society for Higher Religious Education, is an Anglican organisation founded in 1892. Its object is "To promote among Church people the systematic study of the Bible and Prayer Book, Christian Doctrine, and Church History." It was devised as a means of doing for lay people what the Central Society for Sacred Study does for clergy, and there are points of contact between the syllabuses issued by the two societies. Its method of work is thus stated in its Twenty-sixth Annual Report, issued in 1920 :

1. The encouragement of private study and the guidance of individual readers.

2. The formation of Reading Circles under approved leaders.

3. The organisation of Lectures and Classes in suitable centres.

4. The recommendation and circulation of literature, especially the Magazine and other publications of the Union.

5. The promotion of efficient religious instruction in Secondary Schools.

6. The holding of examinations and awarding of certificates for proficiency.

The relative importance attached to one or other of these activities varies in different dioceses. In a few the chief stress has been laid upon the last two. In the diocese of Chelmsford special attention has been paid to these, but a strong point has been to encourage the religious education of student and pupil teachers, especially by inducing them to prepare for, and take, the Bishop's and Archbishop's Examinations in Religious Knowledge. Some dioceses have been more concerned with the third of the activities above mentioned, and especially with the arrangement of lecture courses, followed by discussion. Thus the Hon. Secretary of the Higher Religious Education Committee of the diocese of Norwich, which is affiliated to the Central Church Reading Union, reports a considerable number of lectures (generally in courses of four) during the last ten years on "Old Testa-

ment—Literary Sources and Criticism: Special Books." "Between the Testaments—History and Literature." "New Testament—Literature: Special Books." "Apocalyptics." "The Catacombs." "Church History—General and Early English." "Prayer Book—History and Liturgies."

"In all cases discussions followed the lectures, and in many instances papers were set or essays written. The attendances averaged from 25 at the smaller places to 100 at the larger, and in all there are records of 20 centres, towns and villages being about equal in number. During the War the work was in abeyance in the country districts, but interest is again (Jan. 1922) keen, especially among school-teachers and thoughtful men and women of all denominations and classes. . . .

"There is no roll of membership, save of the few who subscribe to the C.C.R.U. Magazine, but lectures are given as asked for in towns, villages, and schools. In Harleston, for instance, where I am myself just now giving a course, we co-operate with the Free Church Ministers, who bring some of their flocks along with them."

The Hon. Secretary of the Chichester Diocesan Church Reading Union writes in 1921 of the C.C.R.U.:

"The Church Reading Union has for its object the systematic study of the Bible, according to a Syllabus issued by the Council. The method is that of the 'study-circle.' The members read for themselves and meet periodically for discussion under a leader—one of themselves. From time to time a lecturer attends and 'summarises,' or calls attention to, and explains, particular points. This is generally done by one of the local Clergy: at the Brighton Meeting I do it myself. The study is not elementary, and the members (all adults) belong to the educated classes. Expenses are met by subscription. They are small, as everything is done voluntarily. The Society exists solely for study, and undertakes no other work. . . . Before the War there were a good many branches in this diocese, but as the members very often took up war-work, the Society's activities ceased in most cases, and have not been resumed."

The London Church Reading Union reports that, like other Societies of a similar nature, it suffered during the War, but is now regaining its ground, and is circularising Church Councils in the diocese, suggesting that they should

make higher education one of their departments of activity, co-operating therein with the Union. The addition of Christian Missions to the general list of subjects is interesting. In its Annual Statement, for 1920-21, the Union offers syllabuses of study and book-lists, with papers showing the main lines of study for each subject and giving advice as to the use of books. It undertakes to arrange lectures and Students' Meetings at convenient centres, and, through branch secretaries, in different parts of the diocese, while also from time to time it forms classes for Greek Testament or other special study. An annual examination (optional) is held for those who wish to test their knowledge, and certificates are presented by the Bishop to successful candidates: as an alternative, an essay may be submitted. There is also a Postal Library for those who desire to use it. The Report refers to the responsibility laid upon the laity by the Enabling Act, and the necessity that people should equip themselves to discharge it. Summarising the work of the Union for the year 1920-21 it mentions the Annual Lectures at Sion College—a course on "Some Postulates of a Christian Philosophy"; the revival of special courses of lectures in Kensington Town Hall, in this instance on "The Christian Doctrine of the Four Last Things"; three study-circles, and three lectures, in Kensington, on "The Collects"; a course of five lectures at Hampstead on "The Christian Doctrine of Immortality in the New Testament"; a study-circle at Brondesbury on "Hebrews," and lectures on "English Church History in the Nineteenth Century"; the annual examination ("in regard to the number of essays submitted, it was disappointing"); and the annual meeting, with a lecture by Dean Inge on "The Idea of God, Culminating in the Christian Revelation."

One diocesan secretary, a lady, writes regretting that the Society does not show promise of becoming established in the northern diocese which she represents, but she gives an interesting account of her own experience:

"I have had a branch here for nine years, and it is very much appreciated. There are about 30 members of all

classes, but not many men. We have studied English Church History, the Prayer Book, Doctrinal subjects, the Lives of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, and so forth. We have six lectures each year—monthly from October to April. . . . The Clergy around are most kind in helping me. We never have a poorly attended meeting—20 is our lowest number. We have all classes, from the wives of professional men to domestic servants. Last year they asked for lectures on the Books of the Bible, and we have had several. Last year I was made diocesan secretary and wrote to all the Rural Deans in the Diocese, but the clergy did not seem to care to start study-circles."

Quite another point of view is reflected in the letter of a suburban Vicar with regard to the Union in his diocese:

"I am sorry to say that this no longer exists, and with regard to Adult Education we are in a transition stage. The fact above all others which decided us to put an end to the C.R.U. in this diocese was that we did not find that the system led to study. Courses of lectures must miss the mark unless the hearers are prepared to be students also. The after-class tended to drop out, and very few wrote papers or sat for the examination. We felt that other methods should be tried, and these we found chiefly in the Church Tutorial system. Here again we are struggling against great difficulties, connected chiefly with finance. But this diocese has been the pioneer of the Church in this direction, and its Committee has done a great deal of useful spadework. I believe the Bishop has it in mind to appoint a Director of Education in the diocese, as soon as a suitable man can be found. There are many agencies which need some kind of co-ordination."

These extracts show how much a movement of this kind must depend upon the circumstances of the diocese and the personnel available for organisation and teaching. The Central Union has never sought to dictate courses of study, or even methods, to the dioceses, but it has now, at the request of the dioceses, made the issue of an annual Common Syllabus a prominent feature of its policy. This, for 1921-1922, covers the following subjects:

1. Old Testament: The Greek Period. Special Book, Ecclesiasticus. For reference, Ecclesiastes, Psalms.

2. New Testament : I. The Gospels : The Resurrection and the Witness of the Twelve. II. The Remainder of the New Testament : 1 and 2 St. Peter ; St. Jude ; 1, 2, and 3 St. John.
3. Prayer Book : The Ordinal. Ministry in the Church from the New Testament onwards : Rites of Ordination from the Third Century.
4. Christian Doctrine : The Character of Christ.
5. General Church History : Counter-Reformation and Papacy to 1870.
6. English Church History : English Non-Episcopal Christianity.
7. Present-day Subject : What the Bible teaches about the Spirit World.

With this is issued a valuable classified Book List, and the *Church Reading Magazine* contains suggestions for working out the syllabus, and articles by authoritative writers on subjects akin to the syllabus.

The Secretary of the Central Church Reading Union regards the normal method of work as involving meetings of members for lectures, and the formation of groups of eight or nine for weekly discussion of the chosen subject and selected books, but says that members also work singly, and that it would be true to say that the " elementary " books in the list are taken more often by the groups, and the " advanced " by individual readers.

(II)

An experience covering now nearly twenty years has proved the value and attractiveness of the short intensive periods of work provided by *The Vacation Term for Biblical Study*, held each summer in one or other of the Women's Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge alternately, and organised by an independent Committee of people belonging to various Churches. The Syllabus describes it as :

" An attempt to meet a desire for further knowledge, felt alike by those who teach and those who study the Bible for its own sake, by putting within their reach systematic instruction on academic lines on a high educational level."

Each "Term" consists of two weeks, and in each week two courses of four lectures are given, with, in addition, single lectures on subjects specially relevant to the courses. The lecturers are scholars of eminence in the subjects assigned to them. There are conversation classes following the lectures, in which students can put their difficulties to the lecturers and discuss varying points of view. Hebrew and Greek readings on previously announced portions of the Old and the New Testament respectively form a regular feature of the "Term." Book-lists are issued, and there is a library in connection with the "Term," housed in London, and available throughout the year for the borrowing of books.

The programme for each year is complete in itself, and that for 1922, which follows, is typical, but a glance over the programmes for a series of years, such as the last five, shows that a student who attended successive terms would find them by no means disconnected:

1922.	General Subject:	The Person and Work of the Holy Spirit.
	Inaugural Address:	Inspiration.
First Week.	Course I.:	Prophecy and the Prophetic Consciousness (especially as illustrated by Amos and Hosea).
	Course II.:	The Person and Work of the Holy Spirit.
	Single Lectures:	Good and Moral Good (two lectures).
Second Week.	Course III.:	The Johannine Epistles.
	Course IV.:	The Spiritual World: its Nature and Reality.
	Single Lectures:	The Earliest Problems of the Apostolic Age (Acts i.-xv.).
		The Spirit of God and the Subconscious Self.[1]

[1] The 1923 term at Cambridge had as its main subject "The Spirit of Man," Canon B. K. Cunningham delivering the inaugural address under this title. In the first week Professor A. Nairne delivered four lectures on "Isaiah i.-xxxix.," and the Rev. H. M.

The number of students varies from year to year, but the average is from 150 to 200. Nearly all are women, for whom college accommodation is provided, but generally a few men attend the lectures and stay in lodgings. A good proportion of the women students are teachers in secondary schools, some are headmistresses and sisters in teaching communities, deaconesses, and missionaries from the foreign field seeking equipment for their work; the men include teachers who want help in giving religious instruction, and other men who go simply from a desire to learn. Among the students there are always a certain number of women preparing to take the Archbishop's Diploma in Theology. The standard is high. The lectures are not of the "popular" kind, and are meant for genuine students, who come from all parts of the world—Africa, Australia, Canada, India, Japan, New Zealand, and the United States, as well as Great Britain and Ireland. Many attend year after year.

Relton, D.D., four on "The Doctrine of Human Nature and Sin in the Pauline Epistles, with reference to modern thought." Dr. Oesterley gave a single lecture on "The Hebrew Religion contrasted with Alien Cults," and the Rev. J. How, M.A., one on "The Confessions of St. Augustine." In the second week the Dean of King's College, London, gave four on "The Psychology of Religion," and the Rev. E. C. Hoskyns, M.A., four on "The Gospel of St. Mark," the single lectures being by Prof. F. C. Burkitt on "MSS. of the New Testament," and Miss Bevan, L.Th., on "A Survey of Biblical Literature, 1922-23." There were 160 students.

The subject for 1924 at Oxford was "Personal Religion," and the inaugural address was by Prof. W. Lock. The four lecture courses were on "Jeremiah," "The Psychology of St. Paul's Religious Experience," "Christian Origins," and "The Moral Basis of Christianity," while the subjects of single lectures were "The Christian Theory of Prayer," "The Christian Use of the Old Testament, especially our Lord's Use," "Some Recent Theological Literature," "Recent Babylonian Research bearing on the Study of the Old Testament," and "The First Epistle of Peter." The list of lecturers is a truly catholic one, containing representatives of the Anglican, the Free, and the Roman Catholic Churches, and is as follows: Prof. H. Wheeler Robinson, the Rev. Father Martindale, S.J., Principal A. E. Garvie, Canon Kennett, Miss Bevan, the Rev. L. Pullan, Miss H. D. Oakley, G. R. Driver, Esq., and the Rev. F. D. V. Narborough.

The General and Executive Committees are, as we have observed, representative of many denominations and points of view. The lecturers are invited irrespective of religious denomination, but the basis is definitely Christian. There is no formal co-operation with other bodies, but notices are sent to any who may have members likely to be interested. The main subject being the Bible, the four courses of lectures usually include one on a book of the Old Testament, another on a book of the New, a course on a theological topic, and one of a more or less philosophical nature.

"The work," says the Secretary, "is of a very encouraging kind. The atmosphere is keen and very much alive, and there is much friendliness." Articles on the "Term" contributed to the *Church Reading Magazine* (Oct. 1920 and April 1921) show how greatly the students appreciate not only the lectures and classes, but also the opportunity of personal intercourse which adds so much to the educational value of these.

"The feeling of real fellowship which comes from meeting and making friends and from discussing common problems with others interested in the same subjects is one of the most delightful features of these Vacation Terms."

In fact, as in all forms of adult education, the college and university atmosphere is a vital factor in the success achieved.

(III)

A similar gathering is held each Easter under the title of *The Bible Study Week for Teachers*. This was initiated by a group of students who had attended the Vacation Term and wished to extend opportunities of this kind particularly to elementary teachers. The General Committee is as widely representative of the Churches as that of the Vacation Term, and in point of fact the Chairman of the Executive and the Hon. Secretary of the "Week" are members of the Executive Committee of the "Term." The Syllabus says that the Week

"is arranged to meet the desire for further study, on academic lines, in the light of modern historical and critical

research, on the part of those who are teaching the Bible in day and Sunday Schools."

The Hon. Secretary states that the students have come chiefly from the public elementary schools. Of the schools represented, 60 have been in the London area, 73 in country districts, and there have also been teachers from 22 Sunday Schools in London, and 42 from country Sunday Schools (chiefly Church of England, but also Baptist, Wesleyan Methodist, Congregational, and Presbyterian). Besides these there have been students drawn from 18 universities, training colleges, institutes, associations, and missions. The largest number present for one week was 90, and the smallest 45. A recent Report says :

" Close upon two hundred students have attended one or more of these Easter conferences. Some are head teachers ; some assistants, certificated and uncertificated, on the staff, unattached, supplementary ; some are working in schools of special difficulty, or for mentally or physically defective children, some in Higher Grade and Central Schools ; with these are trained and untrained Sunday School teachers.

" The Schools represented are of every size and sort, ranging from the bustling population of a huge L.C.C. School to a handful of village babies."

The first Bible Study Week was held in 1911, at Claydon, Bucks, where a similar meeting took place each year until 1916, after which the War and the conditions that supervened upon it necessitated an intermission till 1922, when the Week was held in Oxford. Each morning there are two lectures, and in the evening there is opportunity for discussion, help being given to the students by holders of the Archbishop's Diploma in Theology.

In 1911 the Old Testament course comprised lectures on " How we got the Old Testament," " The Development of Israel's Creed in the Prophets," and " The Development of Doctrine in the Old Testament exemplified by the Doctrine of God and the Doctrine of the Future Life in the Psalms." The subject of the New Testament Course was the Fourth Gospel. At the close of the week the students met to suggest subjects for the following year.

The subjects dealt with in subsequent years, including 1916, included courses on "The Book of Genesis"; "The Idea of God in the Old Testament interpreted by Priest and Prophet"; "The Books of Joshua and Judges"; "The Books of Samuel"; "The Seventh Century B.C."; "Studies in the First Three Gospels"; "Christ the Source of Historic Christianity"; "The Gospel of St. Luke"; "The Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians"; "St. Paul and his Religious Development"; "The Apocalyptic Movement and the Rise of Christianity"; "The Jewish Background of the Parables." In addition, valuable single lectures on special topics were given.

In 1922 the Old Testament subjects were "The Progressive Revelation of God in the Old Testament" (three lectures), and "The Influence on Israel of Early Civilisation" (two lectures), while the New Testament subjects were "The Approach to the Gospels" (two lectures) and "The Life of Our Lord on Earth" (four lectures).

Book lists are circulated in preparation for the lectures, and there is a loan library in connection with the organisation.

The list of the lecturers who have been responsible for courses or single lectures is a very distinguished one. As in the case of the Vacation Term, they have given their services, and the students' fees have met all other expenses in connection with these Weeks. The results are far-reaching. Many students, under the impetus of this week together, continue their Biblical studies with eagerness and thoroughness all through the year. As the Hon. Secretary writes:

"The outcome of the Bible Study Week has been increased interest in Scripture teaching, an awakening to the importance of the literature in the Bible, the formation of study-circles. Such results have also been our encouragements."

(IV)

The Board to Promote Religious Training for Social Workers is another of the bodies constituted on the basis of representation from a very wide range of religious, social, and

educational organisations, and with a well-defined objective. In its prospectus it says that :

" It has been felt by experienced social workers that the importance of adequate religious training for those engaged in social work cannot be overestimated at the present time. Theological Colleges and University Departments of Social Science of course provide specialised training in their respective spheres. There still, however, appears to be a need for some definite co-ordination of the two, both for Club-workers and for others who, without intending to devote themselves solely to religious work, desire systematic training in Theology as well as in social work, to enable them better to help those with whom they come in contact. The most valuable social work must be fundamentally personal, and this makes demands on workers which, it is believed, can only be met by a definite religious outlook. There is, however, at the present time, a lack of systematic theological study combined with the specifically social training to give workers a grasp of the more universal religious problems arising out of the social questions of the day.

" To develop such a scheme a provisional representative Board has been created to promote the religious training of social workers."

The direction of the theological studies was placed in the hands of a sub-committee, and a tutor—Miss Marjory S. West, B.A., B.D.—was appointed. The lectures arranged were of university standard. But it has not proved feasible to work out the whole of the rather ambitious scheme which the Board proposed, though a certain amount of useful work has been accomplished, and at present the Board is not active. In practice it was found that the Social Study Departments of the Universities could not find space in their time-tables for any additional subject, but the Joint Council of the University Schools of Social Study agreed to accept Theology as an alternative to one of their own social subjects, leaving each University to apply this principle as suited it best.

This work might appear to fall within the category of professional training, and so outside of our particular enquiry, as do the " Refresher Courses " for clergy organised

in the dioceses of Winchester, Lichfield, and elsewhere, and the occasional Summer Schools of Theology organised for Free Church Ministers by theological colleges or district Moderators. But the services of the tutor have been utilised for lectures in other connections, including evening classes of the ordinary adult kind recognised by the L.C.C., and short courses and full sessional courses arranged by the London University Extension Board : [1] her experience has suggested conclusions that bear very directly upon the general development of adult education in subjects related to religion.

" Adult religious education," she says, "if it is to perform a missionary function and to reach those at present outside all denominations, must be entirely free from sectarianism and party spirit of every kind.

" In practice it has been found best to avoid as far as possible anything at all suggestive of a religious title, since such titles seem only to attract the already religious mind. 'The Development of Religious Systems afforded an acceptable opening for one very miscellaneous class of both sexes which, after a session spent in studying the past and present religions of the world at large, of its own accord suggested a similar course on ' The Bible as Literature.' This course was planned to cover both Old and New Testaments in one year, but so much interest was displayed in the Old Testament alone that the whole session of thirty weeks has been devoted to it, an hour's lecture being followed by an hour's discussion every week.

" The class, numbering about 23 members, has been most regular in attendance, and the discussions have often reached a high level. Many seemed to welcome keenly the opportunity for fearless discussion of the Bible from the modern critical standpoint, and expressed the desire that all school teachers should be able to teach it on these lines, so as to avoid the difficulties which modern thought is bound to produce, even in children, when the Bible is taught upon the old method. The class intends to spend next session in the study of the New Testament from a similar literary and historical point of view.

" Other such classes are being asked for. Indeed there seems great need and scope for work of this kind among all sections of the community."

[1] Cf. p. 412 *infra.*

(V)

The institution of *The Archbishop's Diploma of Student in Theology, and Licence to teach Theology*, has been of great service in creating and stimulating among women in the Church of England the effort to attain a high standard in the systematic study of the Bible and related subjects.

The Diploma is conferred upon those who pass the examination held annually or, in the case of advanced students, submit theses on given or approved subjects. Normally a minimum period of two years' study is required. The scheme of study is so devised as to enable consideration to be given to "individual capacities, attainments, and circumstances," to preclude any mere passing through a stated curriculum or cramming text-books for an examination, and to ensure that preparation shall be thorough and efficient, and shall provide a training in habitual study, while it aims at affording facilities for theological training to all candidates, especially to those who are studying privately. Applicants are required to furnish information as to their general education, their knowledge of Greek, their previous theological study, and whether they propose a systematic course of theological study at a University or systematic study under the supervision of competent scholars, whose names and qualifications must be approved by the Directors. The acceptance of the application rests with the Directors (at present, three Bishops, appointed by the Archbishop), who place each accepted candidate under a Supervisor, who in turn is responsible for seeing that the approved course of study is duly carried out.

The examination comprises compulsory papers in :

(1) Holy Scripture :—(*a*) General : Introduction and subject-matter of the Old and New Testaments ; (*b*) Special : Introduction and subject-matter of specified books of the Old and New Testaments in greater detail. In both parts knowledge of the Greek text is required in the case of the New Testament.

(2) Christian Doctrine studied historically to the end of the Fifth Century. In addition, at least one optional

subject must be taken from the following list : (1) A selected Book or Books of the Old Testament in Hebrew. (2) Selected Patristic Texts in Greek or Latin. (3) Outlines of General Church History. (4) Outlines of English Church History. (5) History of Christian Worship, with special reference to the origin, formation, and contents of the Book of Common Prayer. (6) Philosophy of Religion. (7) Comparative Study of Religion.

The standard of examination is approximately that of the Honours School of Theology at a University. In the case of candidates who have already obtained a First or Second Class in Theological Honours at one of the Universities in the United Kingdom some modification of the prescribed tests may be permitted, and, as stated above, candidates may in special cases be permitted to submit theses, essays, or published work in lieu of examination.

The Licence to teach Theology is further granted by the Archbishop, at his discretion, to those holders of the Diploma, being communicants of the Church of England, who desire to make the teaching of Divinity their special work. Applicants are required to give evidence of their capacity for teaching by the preparation of lessons on set subjects and by actual *viva voce* teaching, or to offer other adequate proofs of their competence in this respect.

(VI)

The Inter-Diocesan Council for Women's Work is constituted of representatives from the Dioceses of London, Winchester, Chelmsford, Manchester, Newcastle, and Southwark, with a number of co-opted members. Its purpose is thus stated :

" The Inter-Diocesan Council for Women's Work has for its aim the raising of the standard of Women's Work in the Church of England by securing a supply of women workers spiritually equipped and adequately trained. Its immediate object is the assistance of Diocesan Boards of Women's Work in providing for the efficient training of candidates for service in the Church, and in grading such candidates according to uniform standards. This object it fulfils by

undertaking the inspection of Training Centres, the testing of the professional qualifications of candidates, and the granting of certificates to those who are approved. It is hoped that women who are able to undertake honorary service in the Church, as well as those for whom a salary is necessary, will secure the recognition which the Council provides." [1]

The chief regulations are as follows :

" Certificates of Recognition are granted to Churchwomen who, being communicants and recommended as suitable candidates by a Diocesan Board of Women's Work, satisfy the Council that they possess the necessary qualifications in the following branches :—I. Biblical and Theological Knowledge ; II. Pastoral and Evangelistic Work ; III. Social Work ; IV. Educational Work ; V. Health Work. In each Branch three grades of attainment are recognised—Grade C, the minimum standard of recognition ; Grade B, the standard of the well-qualified worker ; and Grade A, the standard of the expert.

" Candidates in Grade A may be granted a certificate in respect of any one branch, provided that if they are not qualified in Branch I. (Biblical and Theological Knowledge) they are recommended for exemption by their Diocesan Bishop. Other candidates must qualify in at least two Branches, of which Branch I. shall be one."

For Grade A, and in most Branches for Grade B also, the qualification is a degree, diploma, or certificate from a recognised university or examining body, the Council holding its own examinations only for Grade C. But while in some Branches the minimum qualification for Grade C is recognised service rather than examination, it must be remembered that candidates are required to qualify also in Branch I.[2]

[1] Revised Prospectus, 1922.

[2] For Branch I. the requirements are : Grade A :—Oxford Honours School of Theology, Classes 1 and 2 ; Cambridge Theological Tripos, Part I., Classes 1 and 2 ; London B.D. ; Manchester B.D. ; Lambeth Diploma in Theology. Grade B :—Class 1 : Oxford Honours School of Theology, Classes 3 and 4 ; Cambridge Theological Tripos, Part I., Class 3 ; Oxford Diploma in Theology, without distinction ; Cambridge Certificate of Proficiency in Religious Knowledge ; University of Dublin Diploma in Religious Knowledge ; University of London

For Branch IV. (Educational Work), in Grade A, a degree, certificate, or diploma in teaching granted by a university is required; in Grade B, the certificate or diploma granted, after a period of not less than two years' training, by a Training College or Church Institution recognised for educational work by the Council; in Grade C, the Sunday School Institute examination in Child Study, Lesson Writing, and Sunday School Organisation, with a practical test in teaching, for which each diocese will make its own arrangements; the full certificate of the Bishop of London's Sunday School Council; or the Bishop of Southwark's certificate.

While the Council tests, examines, and recognises rather than provides education, it has a valuable effect in stimulating educational effort and guiding those who wish to pursue their studies for the sake of service.

(VII)

There appears to be nothing among the Free Churches quite so highly organised, or aiming at such a high standard of study, as the work connected with the Archbishop's Diploma and Licence or the Inter-Diocesan Council.

In a letter from an official of *The United Methodist Church*, written in September 1921, the statement is made that:

"In our denomination the work of adult education is practically confined to the training of local preachers. In connection with that we have regular schemes of study, and last year a Commission was overhauling things, ultimately presenting the enclosed Report. This is not exactly adult education in the general sense, but it is closely related. In most of our churches work is done which really comes under this head, but it lacks system."

The Report mentioned is a very practical and well-thought-out document. Since, however, it consists of

Religious Knowledge Certificate. For Grade C the Council holds examinations in July and December, in which candidates are tested in (1) The Religious History of Israel in New Testament Times; (2) The New Testament; (3) The Substance of the Apostles' Creed.

proposals, rather than of records of what has been done, reference to it falls more appropriately within another section of this enquiry.[1]

(VIII)

There is, no doubt, in addition to the systematic work described above, a great deal of sporadic and loosely organised work being done in all the Churches, but, at any rate so far as Biblical and related studies are concerned, no definite information about it has been forthcoming.

In some instances, regular provision has been made by the Church as such, but no effective response has been gained. *The Presbyterian Church of England*, for example, for some years had a "Higher Instruction Department" which issued lists of text-books for study, and arranged an annual examination. The intention was to encourage thorough study of the Bible and of kindred subjects by those above ordinary school age, and especially to foster Ministers' Bible-classes. Entrants for the examination were required to belong to the Presbyterian Church of England or to attend a Bible Class connected with one of its congregations. The Examinations for 1913 comprised three subjects—"The Making of Israel"; "Discipleship, being Studies in the Gospel and Example of our Lord Jesus Christ in especial reference to Social Relationships"; and "The English Presbyterians." Essays might also be written on "The Bearing of Christ's Teaching on Present-day Problems" (it was suggested that candidates should treat one of such subjects as the Home, Industrial Relations, International Relations, or the Use of Leisure), or on "The Causes of the Decline and Revival of English Presbyterianism." A candidate might enter for any number of subjects. The aim was to encourage particularly adolescents and young adults, and the standard was elementary.

The policy of holding examinations was abandoned, but it remains as yet a matter of doubt whether the cessation of the examinations did or did not lead to a slackening of study.

[1] *Vide* pp. 181 ff. *supra.*

A Higher Instruction Syllabus is still issued. For 1920-21 it took the form of a brief outline of studies intended " to help readers, by means of an outline and questions, to an *historical* study of the person and teaching of Jesus as depicted by Luke." The comment of an honorary officer of the Young People's Council of the Presbyterian Church, however, is pessimistic.

" We carry on, and have carried on for years, what we call Higher Instruction work, which aims at stimulating and directing the religious education of adolescents and young people generally. We prescribe courses of study and text-books, mainly Biblical, but occasionally Historical, or Social, or Missionary ; but the results are far from encouraging, and we are driven to the conclusion that there is no wide-spread interest in, or desire for, serious study on the part of our young people. We are often told that it is because we set too high a standard, but I think the real cause is deeper —a general disinclination to face in this connection the sweat of real sustained study."

(IX)

The Society of Friends is distinguished among other religious bodies by the place given in the life of the Society to educational activities. It has already been pointed out that the various fields of study—Biblical, Social, Missionary, and many others—have not been so much the concern of different groups or departments in the Society of Friends as they have so frequently proved in the case of other denominations. Here, therefore, it is necessary to consider all of them together. The adult educational work of the Society was summarised by the Secretary of the Woodbrooke Extension Committee in a brief memorandum (Oct. 1921) as follows :

" For some years the Society of Friends has been seeking, in various ways, to provide religious education for its members and others in association with it.

" About ten years ago a Central Study Committee was appointed to co-ordinate the Study Circle work of various organisations. This Committee did useful work in the promotion of study-groups throughout the country, in the preparation and circulation of lists of books and outline study helps, and through the visits of its Secretaries. This

Committee ceased to exist about a year ago when the Central Education Committee of the Society was reorganised and took over its work.

"Since the foundation, in 1903, of Woodbrooke as a residential college for religious and social study, efforts have been made to spread the kind of teaching which Woodbrooke offers throughout the country by means of itinerant and visiting lecturers, summer schools, lecture courses and the like, as well as by the provision of religious literature. This work has been undertaken by the Woodbrooke Extension Committee, which is a sub-committee of the Woodbrooke Council.

"There are in the Society a number of District Extension Committees which exist for the spread of Quaker principles by various means. There is also a Central Extension Committee known as the Home Mission and Extension Committee. Some of these bodies undertake educational work as part of their programme. Special mention might be made of the Yorkshire 1905 Committee, which has done a good deal in this way during the sixteen years of its existence.

"About eighteen months ago the Central Education Committee of the Society was reconstituted, and it now comprises three sections : one deals with general education of children in day and boarding schools, another deals with Sunday School work and week-day activities arising from this, and a third is responsible for post-school or adult education. The last-named body has been engaged in making enquiries as to the need and demand which exists in the Society for religious instruction, and a questionnaire was issued a few months ago to elicit information on these points.

"Last May the Yearly Meeting of the Society took the matter up keenly and asked the Central Education Committee to approach our subordinate meetings in order to find out what they are doing in the way of providing religious instruction and to report next year. This means that the whole subject will be thoroughly canvassed throughout the Society during the next six months or more.

"Recently a letter was addressed to every Meeting of the Society in England on the subject, and a list of books suitable for study groups was sent with each letter. As a result we have heard of several places where the question has been taken up with some enthusiasm.

"Mention should also be made of the Educational Settlements,[1] in which Friends are directly and indirectly

[1] pp. 380 ff. *infra.*

interested, and many of which are under the care of Friends who act as Wardens. Many Friends serve on the committees of these institutions."

The divisions of study mentioned by the Central Study Committee in its Lists of Courses of Study and Text-books for 1918 were Biblical Study ; The Study of Quakerism ; Social Study ; Books suitable for Women's Groups ; Text-books, etc., for the study of Peace, War and International Relations ; and Missionary Study. Under each of these headings there is detailed subdivision. This syllabus says that :

" The Friends' Central Study Committee stands for the educational study of all religious and social questions, primarily through the medium of the Study Circle ; and for the application to all such group-study of the recognised principles of teaching. . . .

" The Committee will be glad to arrange for visits to Meetings or groups of Friends wishing to form Study Circles, and to give all possible help and advice in the matter of text-books and methods of study ; also to arrange for conferences for the training of leaders, lectures on Study-circle work and other subjects, in co-operation with Extension Committees and Lecture Schools.

" The Committee is also willing to give advice as to private reading, and is able to put individual students in touch with others studying the same subject in Correspondence Circles, etc., or with lending libraries."

Where there were not existing text-books or study outlines of a satisfactory kind on the subjects within its purview, the Committee arranged for these to be written and published. A useful series of outlines is intended for use by Young Friends (*i.e.* aged 18 to 40) at Fireside and other gatherings. Each consists of material for eight or nine meetings of consecutive discussion, and provides for each meeting a main problem and three or four relevant topics, with abundant suggestions for relevant reading—but without any one text-book. Another useful type of pamphlet is exemplified by the " Suggested Lines of Enquiry into the Social Conditions of the Town or Village where the Members live."

The Central Study Committee was a sub-committee of the

Woodbrooke Extension Committee, the activities of which have been described in the memorandum quoted above.

The reports of this Committee give fuller details, and a typical year's work was that of 1919-20. In addition to the annual Swarthmore Lecture, which is given at Devonshire House at the time of Yearly Meeting, and published, there was an extra Swarthmore lecture given on the occasion of the Conference of All Friends. The first was on "Quakerism and the Future of the Church," by the Director of Studies at Woodbrooke, and the second was on "The Nature and Authority of Conscience," by Rufus M. Jones. The publication of two books—*The Bible, its Nature and Inspiration*, and *Christ in Christian Thought*, both by Edward Grubb and specially valuable as study handbooks—was secured, and library books were sent out on loan. In conjunction with the Educational Settlements Association a week's conference on Adult Education was organised at Cober Hill. A week-end school numbering about 50 was held at Jordans, the subjects of the lectures being "Adventures in Education," "Adventures in Politics," and "Adventures in Industry," and "Mental Adventure," "Moral Adventure," and "Spiritual Adventure." A ten days' summer school of about 100 was held at Woodbrooke, with the object of promoting constructive Christian thought on problems of religion, and the subjects dealt with included "Personality and Freedom," "Man's Need of God," "The Psychology of Religious Experience," "A Restatement of Quakerism," "Internationalism and the Christian Ethic," "The Message of John Woolman," "Religious Thought in England during the War," and "Religious Thought in Modern Literature." The fourth of the History Summer Schools, which, though not under Woodbrooke auspices but organised by Mr. H. S. Marvin and a special Committee, have now become associated with the name and spirit of Woodbrooke, brought together some 130 people for ten days to study "Attempts at World Unity" in the past which led up to a study of the constitution and aims of the League of Nations. The lectures, like other series given at previous schools, were published in

the well-known "Unity" series edited by Mr. Marvin. Various Old Woodbrookers' groups organised schools and week-end lecture conferences for their own districts. In the same year an International Summer School was held in Guernsey on "World Problems, and some modern solutions considered in the light of Quakerism," and in the following year one was held in Norway, with courses of lectures on theological, social, and economic subjects. At the Guernsey and Norway Schools, as at the Woodbrooke Summer School, members were drawn from very many countries.

The "Yorkshire 1905" Committee was founded on the occasion of holding the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends at Leeds—the first time it had been held outside of London since the early days of Quakerism—and, while addressing itself to extension work of many kinds in Yorkshire, it definitely undertook the arrangement of "Temporary Settlements," and courses of lectures on religious and social questions specially designed to assist Adult and Sunday School teachers and those taking part in Friends' evening or other meetings. The "Temporary Settlements" are practically week-end conferences, with short courses of lectures on Biblical, theological, social, international, and educational questions, and afford ample opportunity for discussion. They have been held in such centres as Rawdon, Skipton, Settle, Grassington and Bentham. A typical report of the Committee's work is that for 1920, which records a "Temporary Settlement" of about 140 members at Bentham, with courses on the Old Testament and St. Paul, and single lectures on Russia and China; an Industrial Conference at Hebden, numbering about 65 persons (chiefly trade unionists, with a few employers) on "The Future of Industry"; two similar week-end conferences on Industry at Heptonstall, with about 30 people at each; a week's conference at Kendal, when about 50 people attended and the subject was Quakerism; and a two-day conference on Education at Leeds. Lecture and study courses were arranged at twenty-eight centres, and the subjects chosen included the Bible, Quaker Principles and Biography,

Literature, the League of Nations, the Growth of Religion, and Nature Study. Two groups (including a considerable number of Sunday School teachers) were taken for a week each to the Rowancroft Settlement, Scarborough, where there were daily classes on Sunday School Methods and Organisation and lectures on Biblical, Quaker, and literary subjects.

Two of the permanent Educational Settlements [1] (Swarthmore, Leeds, and Rowancroft,[2] Scarborough) owe their initiation in 1909 and 1918 respectively, together with a great deal of subsequent support, to the Yorkshire 1905 Committee. In this particular year (1920) the scope of the work at Swarthmore was greatly enlarged and new premises were opened, while at Rowancroft there were regular terminal courses in Elementary Political Economy, Australia and its Labour Party, Psychology, Personality and Freedom, Dante, The Romantic Composers, Present-day Religious Difficulties, and The Ethics of the New Testament. These were attended by local residents in the autumn and the spring terms. In the summer groups were received, generally for a week, for study-holidays. In addition to the two mentioned above, there were one from the Sheffield Educational Settlement, groups from Hebden Bridge and Leeds, a Nature School from Pontefract, a group of Primitive Methodists and a party from Brighouse. " Many of these groups did excellent work, and at the same time thoroughly enjoyed themselves. One member remarked, ' This has killed Blackpool for me ! ' "

In other parts of the country equally effective work is done by Extension Committees in the arrangement of short lecture courses, week-end educational gatherings, and study groups, conferences and summer schools.

A summary of replies to the questionnaire issued by the new Central Education Committee mentioned above is of great interest. Asked " What kind of knowledge is it important for Friends, as Friends, to have ? " and " Apart from this, what are the most valuable subjects for study ? " most mention Quaker history and principles, and there is general agreement as to the importance of economic, social,

[1] *Vide* pp. 380, 385, 387 ff. *infra*. [2] Closed, 1922.

and international questions. Considerable reference is made to the need for Bible study. Several mention Philosophy of Religion, Psychology, Literature, Church History, Science, and Nature Study. In reply to an enquiry as to "What kind of questions are perplexing you and others?" reference is made to the application of Christian ethics to modern life, and especially to industrial and international affairs, while other points especially mentioned (1921) are Ireland, the Ministry in Friends' Meetings, and the problem of leadership in the Society. "What subjects are being neglected, and why?" was one question, and the summarised answers indicate the Bible, Art, and Music, and "the systematic study of anything." The replies to the questionnaire showed that there is a general sense of *need*, but that the *demand* is comparatively small. This is explained by indifference, lack of vision, fear of new ideas, love of amusement, and pressure on time. The methods of meeting the demand at present pursued are generally approved—*e.g.* study circles, classes, lecture courses, and week-end schools, but courses of reading and correspondence with a teacher would be welcomed.

In 1923 the Central Education Committee presented to the London Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends a Report on religious instruction, entitled *Can Religion be Taught?* This deals with the general principles involved, the scope of the teaching required, and the various methods that can be adopted among children, adolescents, and adults. For the last named the practical suggestions include study-circles, local classes and groups, correspondence classes, summer schools, week-end lecture schools, and the use of the facilities provided at Woodbrooke. It also suggests the use of Sunday evening meetings for educational purposes, and refers to instances where the *Adult School Lesson Handbook* is in use as a basis of study. The educational use of Friends' Meeting Houses during the week is strongly urged. But the great need emphasised is that of teachers:

"Whether as voluntary teachers or otherwise, we want men and women of scholarship and spiritual vision, who are

themselves enthusiasts for education and for Christ, and who have the sympathetic power of drawing out and fostering the gifts of others."

The possibilities latent in the use of itinerant teachers are also indicated :

" We want a body of itinerant teachers—men and women who are free to settle down in a district for two or three months at a time and conduct such classes. Help of this kind is specially needed in the smaller and more isolated meetings. These teachers should work in association with some central committee, and be able to respond to calls from all parts of the country."

One result of the Report has been the appointment of one such itinerant teacher—a woman—by the Woodbrooke Extension Committee. During the winter of 1923-24 she has had great success with short series of classes on the tutorial model. At Woodbrooke, by co-operation of the Woodbrooke staff, a course of study covering three week-ends was arranged for Young Friends from Warwickshire. Each week-end included one lecture on each of the following subjects : Economics and Unemployment, The Christian Social Ideal, Bible Study—Why and How, Quaker Principles, Quaker History (two lectures), and International Relations.

(X)

Probably the greatest asset to the educational work of the Society of Friends among adults is *Woodbrooke Settlement*,[1] Selly Oak, Birmingham, founded in 1903. It owes much to the influence of the late John Wilhelm Rowntree, and to Dr. J. Rendel Harris, the first Director of Studies. It is intended to provide for men and women of varying needs and intellectual attainments. While the idea of the Council is that students should come if possible for at least a term, and by preference for a year, those who can spend only a few weeks are welcomed in so far as accommodation (which allows of a study-bedroom for each of some forty to fifty students) will permit.

[1] Cf. p. 393 *infra*.

"Although under the management and influence of members of the Society of Friends, Woodbrooke accords a warm welcome to students, whether connected with other religious bodies or not." [1]

The teaching staff at present comprises several members who belong to different religious communions.

"The kind of study undertaken at Woodbrooke, on both the Biblical and the social sides, is specially suited to the needs of Friends, Adult School leaders and teachers. . . . The Settlement was designed primarily to give members of the Society of Friends an opportunity of preparing for the variety of service required in the cause of Christ to-day. The general course of study aims at advancing 'a deep and more intelligent apprehension of the vital aspects of religious belief.' It deals with the fundamental truths of Christianity, with the literary and historical study of the Bible, with some aspects of Church history, with the history and principles of Quakerism, with Christian ideals, and with the conditions, economic and political, social and international, in the midst of which these ideals have to be realised. There is room within these limits for a great variety of interests, and, as has been stated previously, the requirements of the individual student are carefully considered. But the student who takes the normal Woodbrooke course is advised to include these main themes in his or her programme." [2]

Within the general course certain special courses have developed. One is in connection with the University of Birmingham, which now gives its Diploma in Social Science, on examination, to students who take the (normally) two years' necessary study at Woodbrooke. In 1919-20 five took the Diploma.

"The course is of great value to any who intend to take up practical social work, and indeed to all who desire training for citizenship and an insight into modern social problems. In developing this course, Woodbrooke hopes to appeal to those who feel the need of studying questions of

[1] *Prospectus.*

[2] *Ibid.* Cf. Arnold S. Rowntree, *Woodbrooke, its History and Aims* (1923); John Wilhelm Rowntree, *Essays and Addresses* (1905), pp. 73, 110-150, 228; A. G. Gardiner, *Life of George Cadbury* (1923), c. xi., "Woodbrooke," pp. 196-209.

social duty in the light of Christian faith and in the atmosphere of devotion. The Council is thus able to offer training to those who look to social work as a profession and who desire to relate their life-work to Christian faith, but it is hoped that this economic study will appeal to many who do not expect to devote themselves to social work in the technical sense of that term." [1]

The second special course is one of training for teachers, Woodbrooke having been recognised as a training centre by the Teachers' Training Syndicate of Cambridge University. In 1919-20 three students took the Cambridge University Teachers' Certificate. But here again :

" The Council is not attempting to set up a general training college. It aims rather at helping such teachers and intending teachers as desire to give special attention to the teaching of Scripture and the teaching of Civics in schools. These two subjects lie in the main line of Woodbrooke interests, and consequently the Settlement can offer special facilities in connection with them." [2]

A third special course is one in the study of International Relations.

" Woodbrooke already possesses close and effective links with many other countries, especially with Holland, Norway, and the United States of America. The Council hopes to make it a unique centre for the intellectual and spiritual preparation of all who wish to labour in the cause of international goodwill, and especially for those who would draw together the churches of Christ now divided on national lines." [3]

In this connection it may be noted that apart from regular or special lectures on international questions, the composition of the student life of Woodbrooke affords exceptional opportunities for making this study a very living one. Thus in one year, recently, the annual report speaks of students from Norway, Holland, Denmark, Russia, America, Hungary, New Zealand, Japan, Germany and Switzerland, with more applicants from the first three countries than could be accepted.

Men and women of all ages and occupations go to Woodbrooke for a short period or a long one. There are young

[1] *Prospectus.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

people who have newly graduated, others who come from business, teachers, social and religious workers taking a "refresher" course, and members of the four neighbouring colleges [1] (Carey Hall, Fircroft, Kingsmead, and West Hill) who take certain lectures at Woodbrooke. The College life has abundant vitality and variety, and offers abundant opportunity for spiritual fellowship. The intellectual work done is of a thorough and bracing type.[2]

Dr. Rendel Harris remains Emeritus Director of Studies, and there are a Director of Studies, a staff of six Lecturers, a Reader in French and German, an Organiser of Social Work, and a Librarian, while also there are two Wardens. The college was generously endowed at its foundation, and there are certain bursaries, but the remainder of the cost is met by students' fees and by subscriptions.[3]

The Council of the Selly Oak Colleges makes provision from time to time for special courses of lectures by dis-

[1] See pp. 287 ff. 393 ff. *infra*. To these a fifth, for training women missionaries of the S.P.G., has now been added.

[2] The courses of lectures for the Autumn Term, 1922, were:—The International World of To-day; (*a*) Europe after the Peace; Constitutions and Parties in Europe; China in the Family of Nations; History of Politics, I.; Development of the British Constitution; Economic Theory; Social Philosophy; Industrial Law; Introduction to Psychology; Theory of Education; History of Education; Sanitation and Hygiene; Lectures on Phases of Social Work in Birmingham; Fellowship Lecture; The Early Prophets of Israel; Introduction to the Old Testament; The Synoptic Gospels; The Pauline Epistles, I.; The Philosophy of Religion; The History of Christian Doctrine; The Interpretation of the Faith; The Christian Moral Ideal; Theology Class (Single Term Course); Principles of Bible Teaching; Bible Teaching (Advanced); Quaker Study Circle.

In addition the following were the arrangements for weekly class and tutorial work:—International Study Circle; Certificate Class for Teachers; Education Seminar (Senior); Modern School Problems; Social Philosophy; Educational Psychology (Advanced); Greek Testament Class Seminar; Hebrew Text; Pastoral Psychology (Advanced); Greek Testament Class (Mark's Gospel); Theology of the Epistles, I.

[3] See also p. 384 *infra*.

tinguished visitors from abroad. Thus during 1923 Dr. A. Deissmann, Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin, gave two full series, one of which was afterwards published under the title *The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul.* Another, but shorter, series was delivered by Dr. Albert Schweitzer on *Christianity and the Religions of the World.* In the previous year a special course was given by Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, Secretary of the National Christian Council of China, and the lectures were published in 1923 under the title *China in the Family of Nations.* The Council now publishes at frequent intervals " works by its staff, its old students, and associates " embodying the results of research or the substance of special lecture-courses.[1]

Further impetus to research work is given by the special Fellowships and Readership recently established by the Woodbrooke Council and tenable by members of the Society of Friends who are working on some special line of study, the results of which they can later place at the disposal of the Council in the form of lectures, books, or essays.

(XI)

Turning now to the study of Foreign Missions we find that the story of the Mission Study Movement in this country is practically the story of the *United Council for Missionary Education.* The study-circle idea originated in America, and was introduced into the colleges in England by the Student Volunteer Missionary Union somewhere about 1900. One or two missionary societies took it up for development among young people in the Churches. Immediately the lack of suitable text-books was felt, and by co-operation

[1] Those which have already appeared are *God in the Old Testament,* by R. A. Aytoun, M.A. ; *Tom Bryan, First Warden of Fircroft,* by H. G. Wood, M.A., and A. E. Ball, B.A. ; *Labour in India,* by Janet Harvey Kelman ; *Living Issues in Religious Thought, from George Fox to Bertrand Russell,* by H. G. Wood, M.A. ; *The Revival of Europe : Can the League of Nations Help* ? by H. G. Alexander, M.A., and the volumes by Dr. Schweitzer and Dr. Hodgkin already mentioned.

among representatives of these societies and the Student Christian Movement the first specially written and edited text-book—*The Uplift of China*—was published in 1907. The United Council was formed in 1907, with a view primarily to the preparation of text-books written by the best available authorities; cast into the form of eight concise chapters, of which each presented a definite topic for an evening's discussion; edited by an interdenominational group in such a way as to ensure technical adaptation to its purpose, the removal of any element that might be regarded as provocatively sectarian, and the inclusion of all relevant points of view; and published officially by the co-operating societies (each of which used its own imprint, and if it desired, added to its own edition a chapter dealing with its own particular work in detail). In the course of a few years all the most important denominational societies, Anglican and Free Church, came in, and the Council has recently been asked by the Conference of British Missionary Societies to act as its official publication agency, particularly in the preparation of and publication of all missionary literature that can be produced co-operatively. This is leading to the issue by it of books (such as standard biographies) for general reading. Previously it had confined itself to definite text-books, having developed, from the preparation of one book for all purposes each year, a scheme of graded text-books for adults, adolescents, and children.

The work of the Council has been such as to promote the acceptance of high educational standards in method and material among the Missionary Societies. The latter have been responsible for the preparation and publication of their own "outlines" on the text-books for the guidance of study-circle leaders, but these have generally been drafted at conferences called by the United Council. Each year the Council has held a week-end conference, attended by senior representatives of the Missionary Societies as well as by their own educational staffs, who have always formed the nucleus of the Council itself, and at these conferences the principles of Missionary Education have been discussed and

plans for extension of the work among hitherto unreached groups in the community have been initiated. Once or twice the Council has been able to co-operate with bodies other than missionary societies, as in the case of the National Adult School Union, with which it prepared and issued two text-books (*Jesus Christ and the World's Religions*, and *Social Ideals in India*), specially for use in Adult Schools in connection with sections of the *Adult School Lesson Handbook* for the years in which the text-books were published.

The total number of text-books for adults prepared by the Council and issued through the Societies or otherwise now amounts to about 30, and the total number of copies of these text-books published up to 1921 to 507,000: in addition, the Council published 486,000 copies of books for Juniors, and 83,000 copies of pamphlets.

Commenting upon these figures, the Honorary Secretary of the Council says:

"The total number of Council books sold through various sources in any one year is difficult to ascertain, and it is still more difficult to ascertain how these sales reflect the amount of missionary study carried on. More and more our books are used for missionary education in general rather than for purely circle work. It may be assumed, however, that there are about 50,000 regular purchasers of Council literature issued for people of more than 18 years of age."

In a previous chapter [1] we have already indicated something of the range and educational value of the subjects dealt with in these books.

An interesting comment on another service rendered by the United Council to Education was made by Miss F. Street, M.A., Principal of the Residential College for Working Women at Beckenham and formerly Staff-Lecturer in History at the Royal Holloway College, in a paper on "The Place of Imperial Studies in Adult Education, with special reference to the Education of Women," which she read at

[1] Vol. I., Chapter IV.

the Educational Conference held at the Imperial Exhibition, Wembley, on 29th May, 1924 :

" I do not know how things stand now, but some years ago the best source for material for geography lessons was the publishing department of the United Council for Missionary Education, made use of by teachers in Council Schools quite considerably." [1]

All the Societies represented in this movement now have secretaries whose whole time (or most of it) is given to this educational work. Some Societies have more than one. These secretaries are generally University graduates, and some of them are trained and experienced teachers. The Societies have published a great deal of educational literature of their own, in addition to the Council text-books. Several have education committees for the purpose of fostering this educational work in their constituencies at home. The educational secretaries are responsible for helping in the formation, and supervising the work, of study circles, visiting districts in order to train groups of leaders, organising summer schools and week-end conferences, co-ordinating the work of the Mission House libraries with that of their own departments, and initiating new forms of educational work. They are also concerned with the arrangement of single lectures, the use of lantern slides, maps, and diagrams, and in many cases with the promotion of missionary exhibitions, the use of drama and music for the representation of missionary history and work, and so forth.

For various reasons complete registration of study circles, discussion groups, and other forms of educational work has proved practically impossible, though several Mission Houses have endeavoured to secure it. It is therefore necessary to take the circulation of text-books as something of a guide to what is going on. But a general impression of the extent of current activities may be gained from memoranda kindly prepared by one or two educational secretaries with regard to their respective societies.

[1] *Vide* Conference *Report*, 1924.

(XII)

Thus the *Church Missionary Society* reports a total issue of 149,780 copies of text-books for adult study in the years 1907-1920, with a total sale of 145,428. This includes 127 copies of a book on *Missions and the Minor Prophets*, issued by themselves, and 3566 copies of two text-books of their own, one on China and one on Nigeria. For the year 1921 the figures were 15,684 copies issued and 11,171 sold, 2527 of these being copies of the three C.M.S. text-books just mentioned, and the remainder being Council books. While the Society during the last few years has only had actual registrations from two or three hundred circles each year, in the two years 1919-21 some 2000 copies of "Suggestions to Leaders" on various text-books were sold each year, indicating the existence of a considerable number of unregistered circles. In addition to this are the circles for training stewards to explain the various courts and exhibits at Missionary Exhibitions, and of these circles some hundreds were in prospect in London alone in connection with one exhibition ("Africa and the East"). Training groups for prospective leaders of circles in this connection numbered about 30, and at a preliminary meeting for these leaders some 300 were present, a large proportion of whom had had no experience of study-circle work. Week-end residential training schools for leaders in the country are being organised. Lectures leading to the formation of study circles are arranged in considerable numbers. Two short courses were recently held in London by the C.M.S. Women's Union: admission was charged, and the lectures were very successful. Special courses of lectures are arranged for teachers wherever possible.

As to membership:

"In connection with some of the Clergy Unions or Ruridecanal Conferences clergy circles are held. But the majority of our circles are either mixed, with a large majority of women members, or else consist solely of women, and the demand for elementary study-books is great. For exhibition purposes we issue a special series of manuals, which are

not included in the accompanying returns. There is also a demand, especially during Lent, for Biblical text-books which it is rather hard to satisfy."

The C.M.S. Library offers special terms to study-circle members and exhibition stewards, and is being well used by them. Correspondence courses and examinations are arranged by the Education Department, but are not meeting with much response. At all Summer Schools (lasting for a week) and one-day schools study is given a place in the programme.

(XIII)

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has a strong Education Department and a good lending library. A concise statement of its educational work among adults, received from the Secretary of the Study Department, says :

" The S.P.G. Study Department promotes missionary study and reading among private students and groups of persons by means of study circles and group discussion classes. In addition to a large number of parochial study circles, about 5000 exhibition stewards are instructed each year by means of lectures and study circles on the countries represented by the different courts of which they take charge. These courses include a study of the physical features, history, social customs and religions of the country, with some account of Christian missions at work there. The series of Handbooks specially arranged is generally used both by lecturers and members of discussion groups. Preparatory courses are frequently arranged on a general subject such as *Social Problems and the East, The World and the Gospel, Christ and a League of Nations*, etc.

" Training schools for home workers are held from time to time. The subjects dealt with include lectures, demonstrations and practice of the study-circle method, story-telling, tutorial classes. The membership is composed of people of elementary, high school and college education, according to the locality chosen.

" In addition to a Travelling Exhibition, the Exhibitions Department organises about 30 Exhibitions annually, and over 400 missionary plays, tableaux and pageants depicting the life and customs of eastern countries and the overseas dominions.

" Lantern slides and lecture notes (123 sets for adults) are in daily demand, and a Travelling Cinema Van tours in villages with films on West African and Indian life.

" The S.P.G. Circulating and Reference Library contains over 11,000 books, and new ones are being added at the rate of about 1000 yearly. The average number of books circulated annually is 5000. During 1921, 27 parochial libraries became affiliated and are making good use of their facilities. In addition to books of a definitely missionary character, the Library contains books on non-Christian religions : comparative religion : grammars and dictionaries of the languages of the mission field : histories of churches and nations : books of travels and exploration : works on anthropology : ethnography : sociology : mythology and folk-lore : race and colour problems : nationalist and other movements in the Mission field."

(XIV)

Among the Free Church Societies, *the London Missionary Society, the Baptist, and the Wesleyan Methodist* are pre-eminent for their initiative and sustained energy in educational work. The Wesleyan Methodist Society has issued a complete series of excellent study-circle text-books on its own field of work abroad, in addition to making very full use of Council books. The following notes, summarising the adult education work carried on in connection with the Society, were kindly prepared by one of its officers :

1. General Policy.—The extension of knowledge of the way of life of other nations, particularly those of the East, and of the work our own Church is doing among them : this in order that each individual and the Church may fully interpret Christ and His way of life. Three underlying principles are brought into play : (*a*) adult education must be in a large measure self-education. (*b*) Such education is best gained through the work of a small group. (*c*) This education must be essentially practical in that it affects life.

2. Staff.—Permanent : One Senior Mission Study Officer (woman) working under the Home Organisation Department. The Officer for Junior work also assists in adult education in that she devotes much of her time to training adult teachers of children. For summer schools, etc., other lecturers and assistants lend their services.

3. Literature.—We use the books published by the U.C.M.E., together with one or two published by ourselves. We are not strictly a publishing house. We issue a considerable amount of free literature dealing with methods of study, suggesting suitable books, etc. Leaders of study-circles on the text-books are supplied with Notes prepared in co-operation with other Societies.

4. Leader Training.—The Summer Schools (see below) remain our chief training ground. We aim at inspiring and equipping for missionary education those who already are in positions of leadership (*e.g.* class-leaders, Guild secretaries, etc.) as well as training fresh leaders. Schools of Method have proved most useful in local centres—each being a four evenings' course, with some sectional lectures for adult work. These vary in the standard of training possible: we have held one in a mining village among folk quite unused to "study," and a definite "O.T.C." in Birmingham for people who are already keen educational workers. The first School of Method was held in November 1921: since then we have held 6 schools, and 10 schools are booked for 1923.

5. Summer Schools.—At Swanwick: Whitweek, annually. Attendance 200-300, men and women, chiefly but not entirely young people. Besides attending general lectures, each member enrols for a special section, one of which is training for Leaders of Adult Work. Practical work (study circles, group discussions, etc.), as well as lectures on methods, elementary psychology, etc., forms part of the sectional course. At Swanwick: August (third or fourth week), annually. Similar to above School, but slightly smaller in size. District Schools, *e.g.* Bolton, residential, duration one week, arranged locally, staffed and directed on educational side by Headquarters. Week-end conference: October, chiefly for London Workers.

6. Study Circles.—We have great difficulty in estimating the number of study circles. Thirty-five registered during the winter 1921-22, but we know that, in spite of frequent pleas to register, most circles omit to do so. Of the leaders of those registered, 32 were women, 3 men. 26 circles were entirely composed of women, 6 were mixed, and 3 were men's circles. Every registered leader receives three letters from Headquarters containing suggestions as to the method of work and the practical outcome, and is followed up at the commencement of the next winter.

7. Group Discussions.—At the present there is no register

of group discussions; the method is chiefly used in existing activities, such as Wesley Guilds, Girls' Leagues, etc. We demonstrate and urge it at Summer Schools, etc.

Study Courses: These are planned for use in existing (Church) activities, with a view to using varied methods and working through ordinary people of differing talents.

Use of Drama: We supply many sketches, etc., but, though developing now, the conception of these as means of education is not widespread: they are rather regarded as effective items for missionary concerts, etc.

The general educational work of the London Missionary Society and the Baptist Missionary Society is on lines similar to those of the W.M.M.S. The L.M.S. is developing week-end lecture schools on Missionary subjects, on the lines of the Adult School week-end lecture schools. Unfortunately no comprehensive memoranda or reports on the educational work of these societies are available, but they were among the original co-operating group and were among the earliest to appoint study officers to their Headquarters staffs, and they have carried on educational work not only widespread in extent but high in standard.

The study-circle method demands a small group of six or eight, a consistent use of the text-book by each member, and willingness on the part of the members to take their turn in introducing topics for discussion. Recently the development of discussion groups has taken a considerable place in the educational work of the Missionary Societies. Such groups are more flexible in their method. They may consist of any number of people up to a hundred or so—though if there are more than a dozen members it is usual to divide into sub-groups for the actual discussion. Instead of depending upon each member's having previously studied the assigned chapter of a text-book, the basis of discussion is a twenty-minute talk by the leader—though individual members may have prepared for the discussion if they choose, by a certain amount of reading of relevant books, articles, and so forth. Thus more responsibility is thrown upon the leader. But the method is capable of providing for two quite diverse types—those who are not ready for the more formal circle,

are not prepared to undertake the regular reading of a text-book (whether from lack of time or from disinclination), and are shy of introducing a topic or writing a paper: and, on the other hand, those who have been in study circles and who wish to go further and deeper along systematic lines of their own and upon a basis of much wider and more advanced reading. In either case the leader needs to be thoroughly well-informed, capable, and if possible trained by participation in a short course for the study and demonstration of the educational principles involved in this method.

Several of the Missionary Societies that have not taken part in the organised and co-operative Mission Study Movement have promoted a certain amount of study and prepared a certain amount of literature on their own account. Of all the greater Societies it may be said that education has now become an essential and increasing part of their work at "the home base," and they carry on a great deal—especially through literature—that can never be tabulated.

(XV)

The *Laymen's Missionary Movement* has done a good deal to develop discussion groups, on an interdenominational basis, for business and professional men. The London Missionary Society has recently arranged lunches in London on the lines of the Rotary Club, when a systematic series of questions affecting Missions has been introduced by authoritative speakers and discussed.

(XVI)

The *study of Social Questions*, particularly in relation to the teaching of Christianity and the function of the Church in Society, has made great progress in all the denominations during the last twenty years, though in some cases there was considerable interruption during the period of the War. There is no doubt that this has been much stimulated by the work of the Student Christian Movement, which has not only given prominence to this aspect of Christian thought and effort in its appeal to the students in the colleges and has

created there an enthusiasm to which men and women have given effect when they have left college and entered more fully into the life of various local congregations, but has drawn a considerable number of the senior men and women leaders of the Churches into the movement by inviting them to student camps and conferences.

Another valuable source of stimulus has been the Interdenominational Conference of Social Service Unions, which is dealt with below.

At present most denominations have some kind of headquarters department for dealing with social questions and stimulating the study of them in their various churches. Some of these are only sub-committees of another department, generally that for work among young people. Several of them are only now resuming active effort after suspended animation since 1914. The Church of England, for reasons already indicated, has no one central department. In a number of instances, there are no tabulated records of the results achieved or the detailed work now in progress. But the most active groups appear to be the following :

(XVII)

The *Baptist Union* has a *Social Service Section* of its Young People's Department, concerning which the Secretary writes :

" All that we are able to do is to encourage, wherever possible, the study of social questions from the Christian standpoint by study circles, lectures, group discussion, etc., by keeping the subject, in our Fellowship Handbook and other literature, before our Young People's Societies, and by inducing our young men and women, wherever possible, to take up actual pieces of social service. I believe that a good deal of quiet work is being done along these lines, but progress is extremely difficult to report upon, and impossible to tabulate at all.

" We have in connection with the Baptist Union also a Social Service and Public Questions Committee, an Advisory Committee which is immediately called whenever any social question comes prominently before the public. This is then discussed by the Special Committee and reported on to the

Council. Quite recently, too, there has been set up, in connection with the Council, a special Commission to deal with Industry, which I hope will work in close co-operation with those groups formed to study for the coming Conference on Christian Politics, Economics, and Citizenship."

(XVIII)

The *Congregational Union* has a *Social Service Department.* The Secretary—the Rev. W. J. Wray, M.A., now Warden of Fircroft—was kind enough in 1922 to summarise its work as follows :

" The aim of this Committee is in general to keep the Denomination in touch with the broad social applications of the teaching of Jesus. For some years a quarterly set of notes was published gathering up interesting items of social-religious interest. Its Secretary, the Rev. Will Reason, M.A., also wrote a number of study text-books dealing with the problems of the drink traffic, the land, and housing.

" A series of eight Lecture Notes dealing with varied social topics in the light of modern psychology was recently published. The Committee is charged with the consideration of certain questions of Christian work and life, *e.g.* the League of Nations, protection of Sunday, Gambling, London Morality, thereby gathering up certain loose ends of social and industrial development and watching them from the standpoint of the well-being of society.

" The Study Circle Method has for various reasons not gripped the young people of recent years, so efforts are made to get Literary Societies, Young People's Guilds, etc., to give an occasional evening to these current problems—the Secretary often lecturing to such gatherings.

" The work of the Committee has had its reflex bearing on the Theological Colleges and their teaching."

(XIX)

The *Wesleyan Methodist Church* has a *Union for Social Service* which has recently been undergoing reorganisation. One result of the earlier work of this Union was the establishment of the Temperance and Social Welfare Department as an official part of the organisation of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. This is concentrating upon a new Temperance Campaign of a very definitely educational character. In

connection with the Campaign a considerable number of study circles have been formed and a syllabus has been issued for their use, the seven studies therein outlined being based upon an existing text-book on *Drink and the Community*, by the Rev. Will Reason, and a specially prepared pamphlet on Local Option. A pamphlet describing the educational purpose and methods of the Campaign says :

" It is to this duty of self-education that the Church is asked first of all to address herself, as the essential preliminary to a wider mission in the succeeding years of the campaign.

" The new educational work should be a part of the regular ministry and teaching of the Church, not a mere addition. The end will not be achieved by setting up an additional organisation which may attract a few here and there. The complete educational work can only be done as every part of church life and activity is utilised. Pulpit ministry, Sunday School teaching, Class Meeting fellowship, Guild comradeship, Brigade and Scout training, Band of Hope instruction—these ought to take their place in the new educational Temperance scheme if the Church as a whole is to be equipped for her great service.

" Not by setting up a new organisation, but by utilising the existing methods of the Church, is the end to be achieved."

Detailed suggestions for work through these various agencies are then given, the study circle being recommended as the most applicable to Wesley Guilds, Class Meetings, Local Preachers' Meetings, ordinary adult groups, and so forth.

Another study course on " The Hygiene of Food and Drink," based upon the Board of Education Syllabus, has also been prepared, and in its report to Conference, 1921, the Committee states that local social surveys will be instituted, and that Temperance Summer Schools will be arranged. District and circuit campaign Committees are being set up to direct this new educational movement.

The Department has standing committees to deal with the Temperance and Anti-Gambling Movement, Public Health, and Social Purity, International and Industrial Relationships, and Sunday Questions. The second of these

reports the publication of volumes embodying research and urges the special training of workers, while the third reports a number of conferences, and series of lectures and discussions on Religion and Industry, at which representatives of the Employers' and Labour organisations and representatives of the Wesleyan Methodist Church were brought together :

" Misunderstandings have been removed, and a definite contribution made towards the recognition of the supremacy of Christian principles in commercial, industrial, and political affairs."

The Secretary defines the aims of the Union as pursued :

" 1. By pronouncements from time to time on important public questions in the Press, resolutions sent to Ministers of State, etc.

" 2. By publishing a magazine which we send every four months to our members.

" 3. By supplying our Guilds in local churches with speakers, in the London area. We have also organised conferences at our churches and halls.

" 4. By publishing pamphlets and books ; our last book was on *The Christian Use of Money.*

" 5. By correspondence circles, chiefly among ministers.

" 6. By a study circle in London." [1]

The list of speakers is a long one, and the variety of social topics on which they are prepared to lecture is very great. But apparently only one address is given on each subject, and the conferences also last for one evening only. There is no mention of more sustained educational effort, apart from the Study Circle into which the London Executive Committee resolves itself after it has transacted the business arising at each of its meetings.

(XX)

The *Society of Friends' Committee on War and the Social Order* is of comparatively recent origin, and has been addressing itself to the study of the underlying causes to which

[1] Letter of January 1923.

military and political conflict, industrial and class warfare may alike be traced. It has begun to issue the results of its work in the form of books suitable for group discussion as well as for private reading, and the general educational work of the Society as described above includes this particular aspect.

(XXI)

The *Christian Social Union* was an Anglican Society for the study of social problems and the promotion of social service. The late Canon Scott Holland was the moving spirit in all the life and activities of the Union, concerning which he said :

" The Christian Social Union aims at producing citizens inspired by spiritual convictions and equipped by patient and thorough study." [1]

With this in view a series of Handbooks on Social Questions was produced, one or two lecturers were employed, and conferences were held. But the main function of the Union was to stimulate individuals and groups to take up such studies for themselves and to devise their own methods of pursuing them, rather than to organise Educational activities along any particular line.

(XXII)

The Christian Social Union has now been incorporated with the *Industrial Christian Fellowship.* The I.C.F. is primarily Anglican, with a Central Council composed of Bishops, Clergy, and laymen and women representatives of all types of thought and activity within the Church of England as also of all sections in Industry. There are district directors for the areas into which the country is divided, and the membership is grouped according to locality. In one instance a Ruri-Decanal Chapter and a Free Church Council co-operated in order to make possible the appointment of a local resident agent. The work hitherto has consisted mainly of sermons

[1] Editor's Preface to *Our Neighbours : A Handbook for the C.S.U.*, by H. Scott Holland.

and addresses (both in church and in the open air, as well as to existing organisations such as Brotherhoods, C.E.M.S. branches, etc.) dealing with the Christian ideal of Industry and Industrial Relationships. But in some cases (chiefly in Kent) there have been regular courses of short mid-day lectures on related topics within this general field, and a smaller number of study groups have been organised.[1]

One weekly study circle dealt with "Christianity and Social Problems," using as text-book *The Social Function of the Church*, by Malcolm Spencer. Another branch took as its plan of study: (1) Individual ownership—the distinction between property for use and property for power. (2) Group-ownership—the individual not an individual in isolation; the associations of individuals in a Group for economic purposes; is the idea of group-ownership a natural implication of group psychology? (3) National ownership—the general character of State-ownership and State management. (4) Competition. From a third branch comes a report of a bi-weekly class of dock-workers (in Economics), in which the local branch of the Workers' Educational Association takes an active interest.

The I.C.F. co-operates wherever possible with the Adult Schools and the W.E.A., urging its members to join classes organised by these bodies. It has a training scheme for its agents consisting mainly of courses of reading and the submission of regular essays.

A considerable number of Conferences similar to those arranged by the Wesleyan Methodist Committee have also been carried through by the I.C.F.

[1] Two of the mid-day series were "Housing," "Strikes and Arbitration," "Religion and Political Life in England," "Christ and Unemployment," "The Changing Order," "Industry and the Christian Motive," and "The Need of Religion." "Leadership in Industry," "Primary Claims of the Community," "International Relations," "Work and Leisure," "Dangers of Indifference," "How Christ cared."

(XXIII)

The *Catholic Social Guild* is now in its sixteenth year of work and is a very vigorous organisation. It was founded by a few clerical and lay enthusiasts, with the full approval and support of the Hierarchy. The revised statement of its aims, as contained in the Report of the Twelfth Annual Meeting, 1921, is :

" (*a*) To facilitate intercourse between Catholic students and workers.

" (*b*) To assist in working out the applications of Catholic principles to our actual social conditions.

" (*c*) To create a wider interest among Catholics in social questions and to secure their co-operation in promoting social reform on Catholic lines.

" *Note.*—Party politics are entirely outside the scope of the Guild."

Any Catholic is eligible for membership. Study clubs are affiliated. The methods of work include Lectures, Study Clubs, Literature, Correspondence tuition, Examinations, Summer Schools, and now a Catholic Workers' College at Oxford. The Guild works in the closest co-operation with other Catholic organisations, especially the Catholic Young Men's Society, the Catholic Federation, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the Catholic Truth Society, the Catholic Women's League, and Bexhill Library. In 1918-19 the membership was 968 ; in 1919-20, 1473 ; and in 1920-21, 1950. The membership subscriptions have increased from £199 12s. 6d. in 1918-19 to £702 13s. 7d. in 1920-21, and are chiefly made up of sums round about 5s.

Almost from the outset of its work, however, the Guild has found that the chief demand presented to it was for help in the formation and conduct of Study Clubs.[1] This term, though it may be applied to various gatherings, has for the Guild a very specific meaning and indicates the pursuit of a well-defined method on the part of the group concerned. One or two experimental clubs had been formed before the

[1] Cf. C. C. Martindale, S.J., M.A. ; *Charles Dominic Plater, S.J.* (1922), pp. 113-114, 119, 261-306, etc.

Guild was founded. The impetus was given partly by the growth of non-Catholic adult educational movements : partly by the desire which Catholic working men showed, like their fellows, to discover the causes and remedies for the unsatisfactory conditions of life as they found it : and partly by the ban of the Church upon Socialism, which led men to enquire why Socialism was regarded in this light by the Church, whether all types of Socialism must be regarded in the same way, and if so what alternative would be compatible with Church teaching.[1] In the earliest clubs the method generally was that each member read in his turn a paper on some aspect of the subject taken for the course (*e.g.* Political Economy), but the result was that he concentrated on the preparation of his own contribution, and neither studied adequately the other parts of the subject nor understood properly the papers upon them read by his fellow-members.

The study club comprises from six to twelve members, usually meeting weekly, and working on the basis of a textbook. Tutors not being available, a chairman (often a priest) is chosen, and at each meeting a portion of the textbook is read and discussed, members asking questions which other members or the chairman may be able to answer. Questions are set to which each member writes his answer in the course of the week. Fifteen minutes are given at the beginning of each meeting to the reading of these brief essays (or as many of them as time allows), and if the chairman has time and feels competent to do so he takes away all the papers and returns them with comments marked upon them. As in the case of the Protestant Missionary Societies and their Study Movement, it was speedily found that suitable textbooks were not in existence, and the Guild has fulfilled an important function by getting such books written (in all cases by Catholics, lay and clerical), publishing them, and providing, either at the end of the book or separately, the necessary " courses of study "—*i.e.* analyses and questions. An admirable little book entitled *A Guide to Social Students*

[1] Cf. p. 74 *supra.*

(being the "Catholic Social Year Book" for 1920) gives very full information as to how to form and conduct such Study Clubs, preceded by a short account of other adult educational organisations like the W.E.A., the Plebs League, the Adult Schools, Ruskin College and the Central Labour College, etc., and followed by ten study courses. These are on Social Service, Social History, Political History, Political Economy, A Living Wage, Peace and War—the Principles of International Morality, Christian Feminism, Guild Socialism, Eugenics, The Housing Problem, and The Drink Question respectively. Most of the text-books are C.S.G. publications, written by such authors as Mgr. Parkinson and the late Father Plater, but a useful bibliography is also given. In 1921 it was estimated that 120 C.S.G. Study Clubs had been working during the previous twelve months, though not all were affiliated to the Guild. The "Catholic Social Year Book" for 1922 gives particulars of 125 Study Clubs that reported work during 1921, and the estimated total number was 140, with an average membership of 10.[1]

In the "Catholic Social Year Book" for 1922 it is recorded (p. 23) that:

"There are several Study Clubs in existence to-day largely composed of the same members as they had before the War, though these members had years of service in every theatre of war where the British Army fought. There are cases of study clubs formed and holding meetings in the trenches. Nevertheless the war was a disastrous interruption of the Study Club movement. There are at present probably 140 Study Clubs in existence, and the number would certainly have been larger but for the war."

[1] The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Guild (Aug. 1923) reports news of about 120 Study Clubs. In the Report of the Fifteenth Annual Meeting, held at Ruskin College, on Aug. 3, 1924, the membership is given as 2359 (as compared with 2184 in the previous year); 165 Study Clubs are reported; an increase in the number of week-end schools is noted (7 having been arranged); 14 candidates entered for the Adult Examination—5 in Social Science, 5 in Industrial History, 3 in Political Economy, 2 in Christian Social Reform, and 1 each in International Relationships, Moral Philosophy, and Christian Citizenship.

The Secretary of the Guild writes (Dec. 1921) that the overwhelming majority of members are weekly wage-earners, but a good proportion are clerks and teachers. The text-book principally used is Mgr. Parkinson's *Primer of Social Science.* In *A Guide to Social Students* it is urged that a first-year Study Club ought to take either Social Science or Economic History, and that if Economic History is taken in the first year, Social Science should be taken in the second.

"After Social Science has been taken, a Club is well qualified to make its own choice of subjects for future work. To Women's Clubs we have great confidence in suggesting Christian Feminism as a course. Men who want a course which, though fairly stiff and abstract, is the best possible training, are recommended to Political Economy, a two years' course.

"Although not usually desirable, a first-year Study Circle wanting a lighter subject can omit Social Science and take some other subject, such as Housing, the Drink Question, etc. But beginners must avoid certain subjects, particularly Political Economy and Guild Socialism, which are only for advanced students." [1]

Preliminary Study Classes are sometimes formed instead of a Study Club. These do not make the same demands on members that a Study Club does.

"They do not require the same amount of private study, and the matter of study is a series of independent though related topics rather than a single course, and therefore a certain amount of irregularity in attendance at preliminary study classes does not injure every part of the work as it must do in the case of Study Clubs. The membership of a preliminary study class can be larger than is practicable with a Study Club, especially if the study class has a director who will attend the meetings, guide the discussions and give such explanations and amplifications of the text-book as may be required." [2]

Two study courses for preliminary classes are given in the *Guide,* one on Christian Social Reform, and the other on Christian Citizenship.

[1] *A Guide to Social Students,* p. 26. [2] *Ibid.* p. 29.

A specialised piece of educational work has been a movement for the formation of study circles for nuns, the chief purpose being to equip them to teach sociology in their schools. The *Quarterly Bulletin* of the C.S.G. for July 1920 gives the number of convents where such circles have been started as 30.

During the last three years there has been a small panel of Study Club voluntary lecturers, all of them experienced in the conduct of Study Clubs. Offering lectures on various subjects connected with the social sciences, they have sought audiences from which Study Clubs might be started, and have given advice on the formation and conduct of such clubs.

The C.S.G. holds an annual examination for which the subjects are: 1. Social Science. 2. Social and Economic History. 3. Political Economy. 4. The Living Wage. 5. International Relations. 6. Any two of the following: (*a*) Christian Citizenship; (*b*) The Drink Question; (*c*) Eugenics; (*d*) The Housing Problem; (*e*) Guild Socialism; (*f*) Christian Feminism; (*g*) Christian Social Reform. The examination is based on the text-books used for the corresponding Study Club courses. Candidates must secure a pass in 1 and 2 before they can obtain passes in other subjects. Certificates are awarded to those who pass in 1, 2, and any other they select, or 1, 5, and any other. Diplomas are given to those who pass in 1, 2, 3, and any other. Subjects may be presented for examination together or consecutively, but it is calculated that each subject will occupy an average club with work for one year except Subject 3, which will usually take two years. In the 1920-21 Adult Examination 58 candidates entered for Social Science, 6 for Industrial History, 1 for Christian Social Reform and Christian Citizenship.

Correspondence tuition is provided by the Guild, which has the help for this purpose of some half-dozen tutors, on any of the subjects included in the Examination List. Papers are submitted and corrected fortnightly. In 1920-21 there were 58 Correspondence Students, of whom 49 took

Social Science, 8 Industrial History, and 1 Political Economy.[1]

The first Catholic Summer School of Social Science was held at Oxford for eight days in 1920. Fifty students, most of them regular Study Club members, attended. Thirty had scholarships awarded by the Guild on examination and given by a generous supporter. The other twenty paid their own expenses. Of the ten women members two had scholarships. Father Plater wrote of them : [2]

" Very various were the occupations represented by the students. There were miners and shipyard men, postal workers, textile workers, railwaymen, engineers, clerks, and shopkeepers. There was a Labour Exchange manager and the manager of an industrial concern. Yet there was a marked similarity of type among the men. Nearly all were young men, and nearly all were wage-earners actively connected with trade unions, co-operative societies, and Catholic organisations. Many were members of local authorities, taking a prominent part in the municipal affairs of their respective towns : all were serious social students, and in most cases leading members of Study Clubs.

" This was decidedly the right sort of crowd to get. It was not a case of bringing together a faintly-interested collection of amiable people, attracted mainly by the prospect of a week's holiday in historic surroundings, and vaguely conscious that they ought to start finding out something about these questions discussed in the newspapers. Here, rather, was a gathering of picked men and women who had for years been up against pressing social problems, who had thought and read and discussed them among themselves time after time, who had at their fingers' ends the actual facts of the situation, and who wanted to correlate their knowledge on the firm basis of Catholic principles."

Three courses of lectures were given—one on Ethics, one on History, and one on Modern Practical Questions in

[1] The figures given in the 1923 Report are 30 candidates for the Adult Examination (Social Science, 12 ; Industrial History, 10 ; Political Economy, 2 ; International Relations, 1 ; Christian Citizenship, 6 ; Housing, 7 ; the Christian Family, 1) and 34 students taking Correspondence Tuition (Social Service, 12 ; Industrial History, 12 ; and Political Economy, 12).

[2] See *The Month* for August 1920.

Economics. Questions followed the lectures, and on the last four afternoons of the week essays were read to tutors.

The chief importance of the Summer School, perhaps, is that during the course of it two projects were initiated—the flotation of a monthly magazine (*The Christian Democrat*) and the establishment of a Catholic Workers' College at Oxford.

The second Summer School was held at Oxford in 1921. Again there were three courses of lectures—Christian Apologetics, The Christian Idea of the State, and The Making of Oxford. On this occasion the membership was still more varied, including four senior Army Officers, a Theological Professor, a number of clergy, and a larger proportion of women, of whom many were teachers. But wage-earners were also present in considerable numbers, despite the fact that provision could not be made for scholarships on the same scale as in the previous year, and most of the wage-earners were members of trade unions; 92 members attended the School, which was self-supporting.[1]

(XXIV)

The Catholic Workers' College was started at Oxford in October 1921, with a Principal and three students—a textile operative, a metal worker, and an engine driver—living in lodgings. The students went up on scholarships found by their local C.S.G. branches (one branch meeting the expenses of two men), and for general expenses the sum of £200 had been received. The provisional governing body was the Executive Committee of the Catholic Social Guild, and with the official approval of the Hierarchy this provisional arrangement was subsequently made formal and substantative. The College was founded as a memorial to Father Plater, who had greatly desired its establishment. The Principal, Father O'Hea, S.J., M.A., who had been

[1] There were 90 members at the 1922 Summer School. The 1924 School included courses on "Some Principles of Justice," "Continental Trade Unionism," and "International Labour Problems" (*vide The Christian Democrat* for February 1924).

released from a mastership in Science at Stonyhurst College, gave general assistance to the students in all their subjects, and acted as tutor in Apologetics, and tutorial work was undertaken voluntarily by the Master of Campion Hall in Ethics; Mr. F. F. Urquhart, M.A., Fellow of Balliol, in History; and Mr. H. Somerville, M.A., Secretary of the C.S.G., in Economics. The students attended University lectures without fee, by courtesy of the lecturers, and arrangements were also made for them to attend lectures at Ruskin College, and at Barnett House.[1]

There were other occasional lectures and discussions, and weekly meetings with the four tutors. The intention is to increase the number of students (including women students) as rapidly as scholarships of £100 per annum each can be found.[2] A house has now been acquired and a two-years' course established. Several scholarships have been found by C.S.G. branches, Catholic Young Men's Societies, and other groups. The students, men and women, are selected and sent by such organisations, subject to the decision of the College Council as to their general fitness. The method of selection is left to the organisations concerned. But candidates must be over eighteen years of age and must be workers for their own living.

"The College is not meant for merely bookish persons, for those to whom study is an individual hobby and not a preparation for active service of their fellows. The College

[1] Thus they attended courses of lectures by Prof. W. G. S. Adams on "The British Parliamentary System"; by Mr. R. Lennard on "The History of British Agriculture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries"; and by Mr. Henry Clay on "Capital and Labour and the Theory of Wages." At Ruskin College they attended courses by Mr. Ford on "Economic History" and on "Public Administration." At Barnett House they attended a course by Mr. S. P. Grundy on "Social Science," and one course by Sir George Paish and others on "Economic Organisation since 1914."

[2] Candidates must be "practical Catholics," but non-Catholic students qualified in other respects and able to pay the fees may be admitted. Students are not required as a condition of membership to attend any form of religious service, but opportunities of doing so are given them.

is not for men who may become deeply learned in Economic Science but who will never make an effort to use their knowledge as a stimulus and guide to action. Nor is the College intended to pick out bright boys from the working classes and give them an education so that they can personally rise in the world, as the saying goes. The College is not meant to put those who would otherwise be wage-earners into the way of becoming doctors or lawyers or Government officials or journalists. The aim is to train workers for the active service of the Church and the Community. Of course no rigid rule can be made as to what the men must do when they leave the college. We expect that they will ordinarily go back to their old trades and localities, but this must be left to their own conscience and judgment. They will know that their education has been provided by those who expect from them Catholic service in return." [1]

" The College will keep alive the memory of Father Plater and it will carry on his work. It will teach what Father Plater taught—that social questions are essentially moral questions and not the mere clashings of opposing class interests ; that if the Labour Movement leaves out God it will be nothing but a materialistic abortion with power to destroy but not to build up. The College will train Catholic workers to imbue their fellows with the truth so solemnly urged by Leo XIII., that for the solution of the social questions all the striving of men will be vain if they leave out Religion and the Church." [2]

A recent pamphlet issued by the College,[3] after recounting the development by the Catholic Social Guild of Study Clubs, postal tuition, adult examinations, summer schools, and the publication of text-books, says :

" Catholic men and women find their fundamental principles challenged in the daily conversation of their workmates. They value an education that will give guidance to themselves and help them to lead others. . . . Several Colleges under non-Catholic auspices bring the advantages of university education to working men and many of their students have risen to leadership in working-class associations and public life. Something of the kind was needed to

[1] *The Catholic Workers' College at Oxford* (" Catholic Social Year Book," 1922), pp. 51-2, 56-7.

[2] C. C. Martindale, *op. cit.* pp. 275, 305-6.

[3] *The Catholic Workers' College* (1924).

train Catholics in the social teaching of the Church and, on the secular side, to give them an education not inferior to what is obtainable elsewhere."

It brings the story of the College up to date by telling how, when the removal to larger premises took place in 1922, six students came into residence. Two scholarships were given by individual benefactors and the rest by branches of the Catholic Social Guild, Catholic Young Men's Society, and other Catholic bodies. The College was then opened to women (who live with a Roman Catholic lady in the vicinity), for whom scholarships were raised by convents, the Catholic Women's League, and other Leagues. For the year 1923-24 there were six men students and two women, both of whom had been trade union organisers :

" Students complete their course in one or two years. The first year's course provides training in Ethics and Economics, by classes, lectures, and essays written for tutors. Time is also given to Church and Economic History and Apologetics. Students who are granted a second year usually prepare for the University Diploma in Economics and Political Science. Opportunities are taken to give an insight into the working of the Catholic Social Guild and other Catholic societies. Vacations provide valuable occasions for practical work, lecturing for the Guild, organising study clubs, and, generally, making the work better known. . . .

" The studies are guided mainly by University tutors giving personal tuition and by lecturers in the University and at Ruskin College who grant access to their courses. The indispensable and generous help thus received has well justified the choice of Oxford as the home of the College.[1]

" Three students up to the present have completed their studies. One is now Organising Secretary of the Guild, and many gratifying developments testify to the value of his training. Another has returned, with the University Diploma, to the services of the G.W.R. as a locomotive driver in South Wales, where he had previously held an important trade union position, and finds time for lecturing and helping social study. The third is a sheet-metal worker near Preston, active in the interests of the Guild and in trade union work."

[1] The lecturers and tutors whose courses were attended by C.W.C. students in 1923-24 were Prof. W. G. S. Adams, Dr. A. J. Carlyle, Mr. J. L. Stocks, Mr. F. F. Urquhart, Mr. R. H. Tawney, Mr. Lipson, Mr. Ogilvie, and (at Ruskin College) Mr. Fasnach.

(XXV)

Reference was made above to the influence of *The Interdenominational Conference of Social Service Unions.* Its chief work has been the arrangement of an annual Summer School, lasting in the case of the earlier schools for a week, and in that of the later ones for ten days. The first was held in 1912, and the series has been unbroken since then, with the exception of the years 1917 and 1918. The usual place of meeting is Swanwick, and the School now generally has from three to four hundred members. The Interdenominational Conference includes practically all the Social Service Unions that are in active operation in any given year.[1] Some subject of common interest is selected and lectures, followed by discussion, are given by authoritative speakers representative of the various co-operating organisations. While no concerted action is taken, and the Conference is not in that sense a federation of these different bodies, a considerable measure of agreement in thought is attained, and the educational policy of the Unions is inevitably affected thereby. This not only helps to bring about closer unity of spirit and fuller general co-operation in activity, as well as the sharing of ideals with regard to method, but a focussing of attention from year to year, throughout the constituencies represented, on the subject to which the Summer School has been devoted. The membership of the School is naturally drawn largely from those who

[1] Thus in 1915 it included the Baptist Union Social Service Section, the Catholic Social Guild, the Christian Social Union, the Congregational Union Social Service Committee, the Friends' Social Union, the National Conference Union for Social Service, the Presbyterian Social Service Union, the Primitive Methodist Union for Social Service, the United Methodist Union for Social Service, the Wesleyan Methodist Union for Social Service, and, for that year, the United School of Social Service for Wales was affiliated. In 1916 there also co-operated for the purpose of the Summer School the Social Service Committees of the Student Christian Movement, the National Adult School Union, and the National Brotherhood Movement. In 1919 the Unitarian and Free Christian Fellowship was included. In 1921 the Industrial Christian Fellowship replaced the Christian Social Union.

are most enthusiastic with regard to propaganda and educational work in their own respective localities and societies. After several Summer Schools the chief lectures given at the School have been published as a volume which has had considerable value as a basis for study-group work, apart from its educational influence upon the community as a whole.[1]

The main themes of the Summer School have been, in successive years, International Relationships in the Light of Christianity; Social Reconstruction after the War; Some Christian Essentials of Reconstruction; The Christian Standard of Life; Christianity and the World Outlook, and The Fellowship of Nations; The Christian Order of Society.

The Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship (" Copec "), held at Birmingham in 1924, sprang out of the work of the Interdenominational Conference of Social Service Unions, and the Summer School Programme for 1922 was shaped in view of it though the Interdenominational Conference is not in any way responsible for it. As at the World Conference on Christian Missions, held at Edinburgh in 1910, the purpose in view was to secure, through the presentation and discussion of Reports by Commissions representative of all the Churches, some common statement with regard to the application of Christian principles to the present practical problems of individual and corporate life.

Much of the value of the 1924 Conference depended upon widespread previous educational preparation of the Churches. It is hoped that there will follow in the realm covered by the subjects of the Conference the same intensification of both educational and practical effort that followed the Edinburgh 1910 Conference in the realm of Christian Missions. To this end, study and research groups were formed all over the

[1] The volumes published as a result of various Summer Schools are *The Industrial Unrest and the Living Wage* (1913), *Land and Labour* (1914), *International Relationships* (1915), *The Hope for Society* (1916), *Some Christian Essentials of Reconstruction* (1919).

country, and did good work upon a series of Questionnaires prepared by specially appointed Committees. The subjects of these Questionnaires are, respectively, Human Society and the Nature of God, Property and Industry, Education, The Treatment of Crime, The Home, Leisure, International Relations, The Social Function of the Church, The Relation of the Sexes, Race, Politics, Christianity and War, and the Social Gospel. The aim with regard to these study groups was twofold. In some cases they were intended simply to educate the minds of the members in such a way as to prepare them to understand and consider the Reports of the 1924 Conference when published and brought forward for further discussion at subsequent Regional Conferences, many of which have now been held. In others they evoked contributions of fact and an elucidation of principles that were of great value to the Commissions which were drafting the Reports to be presented to the Conference. In any case the Questionnaires, while intended to induce study groups actually to do a little research into the relevant facts within their own observation, did more than ask questions that can be answered in yes or no fashion. They raised fundamental issues, which groups found it necessary to thrash out for themselves by reading and discussion, and a good bibliography was attached to each Questionnaire. Churches and their auxiliary societies, Adult Schools, Educational Settlements, Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s, Industrial Christian Fellowship Groups, Catholic Guild Branches, and many other organisations took up these Questionnaires as the basis of their educational work for the winter of 1922-3, while many *ad hoc* and expert groups were formed also. One group, which started on the " Property and Industry " Questionnaire, developed into a university tutorial class, since the members felt the need of going thoroughly into the economic principles involved. The twelve volumes of the Conference Report should now form useful bases for further study on the part of the many local groups that have been formed for this purpose.

(XXVI)

The training of Sunday School teachers for their work is a factor of considerable importance in adult education from the point of view of the Churches. The subjects studied, especially in the earlier stages, may in many cases be rather narrowly confined to the actual matter of the lessons to be given, or to this together with elementary psychology and teaching-method. But the foundations of a studious habit of mind are laid, and modern methods of Bible-teaching and of Graded Sunday School work in general lead to a much wider range of interest and study on the part of the teacher. In the Primary and Junior departments of the Sunday School, especially, Nature-study and Handicrafts are very much utilised. Throughout the modern Sunday School a broad knowledge of the Bible as a whole, its growth and the inter-relation of its parts, is regarded as necessary for adequate teaching of any section of it. The study of the historical, social, philosophical, and religious background of the various books of the Bible is also emphasised.[1] Then, when periods of perhaps two months of consecutive teaching in a Missionary subject such as the life of John Williams comes into the Lesson Syllabus, a great deal of reading and discussion on the part of the teachers will be given to aspects of primitive life and religion, world conditions of commerce, government and exploration at the end of the eighteenth century, or other matters relevant to the special subjects.

"Teachers' Preparation Classes" were a feature of church organisation long before the new methods were introduced, and these were often conducted by the clergyman or minister, but in the modern school the head of each department usually has a class for his or her own teachers, who are as a rule not allowed to give a lesson unless they have been present at the preparation class during the previous week. Sometimes the staffs of all the departments in the school meet together for a course of lectures or a class in a subject of common interest. Often there is a central organisation

[1] Cf. p. 223 *supra*.

serving all the churches of a town—generally a Sunday School Union. Each denomination has now its own department for fostering work in Sunday Schools and among young people. The National Sunday School Union, for the Free Churches, on the one hand, and the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church and the Church of England Sunday School Institute, for the Church of England on the other, are national organisations which, amidst other educational work for teachers, arrange local, district, or national weeks of special study. There are also training colleges such as St. Christopher's, Blackheath (Church of England) and Westhill, Selly Oak (mainly Free Church), where full-time courses lasting for a year or more are provided.

(XXVII)

The National Sunday School Union has a "Teachers' Training College" which works through locally arranged, or correspondence, classes preparatory to the annual examinations for teachers. These examinations are graded into Introductory, success in which is marked by grant of a certificate and recognition as an Associate: Intermediate, leading to certificate and recognition as a Member: and Final, through which the candidate becomes a Graduate, and may, on producing satisfactory testimonials of approved efficiency in the actual work of Sunday School teaching, receive the Sunday School Union Teachers' Diploma.

The Introductory Course is intended for members of Bible Classes and Institutes, younger Sunday School teachers, and inexperienced teachers desiring greater efficiency in their work. The syllabus includes The Elements of Child Study, the text of part of one of the Gospels, and Introduction to the Old and New Testaments, all on a very elementary level. The Intermediate Course is for those who have passed the Introductory Examination or who are ready to begin at this stage, and includes the same three subjects on a more advanced syllabus, *e.g.* the text of one complete book of the Old Testament and one complete Gospel. The Final Examina-

tion, for those who have taken the Intermediate certificate, covers (1) Scripture (considerable portions of the text of the O.T. and N.T.). (2) Two of the following (only one may be taken in any given year) :—Psychology, New Testament Greek, The Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ, The Life and Teaching of Paul, The English Bible. (3) A Period of Church History. (4) Applied Christianity. (5) Christian Missions. All the prescribed text-books, however, are distinctly of the popular or elementary handbook variety, but many students will go considerably beyond the standard required for the examination by force of their own capacity and interest or under the stimulus of good lecturers and tutors who may happen to be available in their own localities. The Correspondence Classes are arranged to meet the requirements of the Introductory and Intermediate Courses, and consist of weekly notes and questions on portions of the text-books, the students' answers being corrected and returned by the tutor. The work is done on an individual and not a group basis.

The Secretary of the Teachers' Training College states that the work has now been in progress for fifty years ; that the students are Sunday School teachers in large centres where they can participate in training classes, study circles, etc., and teachers in villages or remote places for whom the correspondence classes provide ; that the examiners are mostly university men and principals and professors of theological colleges ; and that the tutors of the correspondence classes are graduates of the College.

(XXVIII)

The Sunday School Union has also held Summer Schools of Methods. A typical programme is that of the School held in 1920 for a fortnight at Southend-on-Sea. Two ministers gave courses of five lectures each, one on the Old Testament and one on the New. A course of five on the Character of Jesus Christ was given by a Public School headmaster ; there was a course of nine on Child-psychology and Teaching Method ; there were also miscellaneous

lectures on and demonstrations of various aspects of work in the Sunday School.

Similar schools are sometimes arranged by local Sunday School Unions. As an example the Easter School for Bible Study, Child Study, and Teacher Training held at Southport by the Lancashire Association of Sunday School Unions in 1923 may be quoted. Three or four lectures were given on each of the main subjects and there were a number of demonstrations and discussions on various points of Sunday School method.

(XXIX)

Westhill College was founded in 1907 as a residential training college for Sunday School Teachers, this being the result of the campaigns and local courses of lectures on Child Study carried on during the four or five preceding years by Mr. G. Hamilton Archibald, the pioneer of the Graded Sunday School in this country. It sprang out of the growing realisation among the Churches that trained leadership is necessary in religious work among children and young people, and is now the official college for the training of Sunday School leaders under the direction of the following denominations, which are represented on its governing committee—Baptists, Congregationalists, Primitive Methodists, Presbyterians, Society of Friends, United Methodists, and Wesleyan Methodists, together with the National Sunday School Union. It began with courses lasting for one term and chiefly concerned with preparation for work in the Primary Department. The normal course is now for at least one year, though a special short course of one term for students who cannot stay longer is provided. Some 400 students have now received training at Westhill. It is one of the group of Associated Colleges at Selly Oak, of which Woodbrooke is the centre.[1]

" Westhill exists to train men and women as leaders in the moral and religious education of childhood and youth. Whilst it endeavours to teach its students the principles and

[1] See p. 393 *infra.*

methods applicable to general education, it frankly regards man as essentially religious : it conceives of religion as an integral part of the common life of every day. For this reason, the basis of the work is a religious one, that of the Christian religion free from sectarian or denominational bias. . . .

"The certificate Courses cover periods of one or more years, and are planned to meet the individual needs of Students who wish to equip themselves as Demonstrators and Leaders of Modern Sunday School Work, as Boys' and Girls' Club Leaders, Scout-masters, Camp Fire Guardians, Boys' Brigade Officers, Welfare Workers, etc. . . .

"The Syllabus includes Bible Study, Psychology of Childhood and Adolescence, Physiology and Hygiene, Principles and Methods of Teaching—including the art of Story-telling, Nature Study, Blackboard Drawing, Organisation and Management of Modern Sunday Schools, Clubs, Scouts, etc., Sociology, After-Care, Juvenile Labour, etc."

Many students, especially women, have taken a course of study at Westhill (in a number of cases after university or other good general education) at their own charges in order to be able to render more effective service in the Sunday Schools with which they are connected : a considerable number have been sent and maintained by the churches to which they belong, in order that they might come back and reorganise or improve the work of the Sunday Schools : some have taken the course as vocational in view of the growing demand for full-time paid workers in this field. But the majority of Sunday School teachers can afford neither time nor money to do this. A special Westhill Extension Scheme has therefore been developed during the last few years. The College undertakes to conduct short courses in any locality on the invitation of a church, group of churches, or similar body, at a charge of £20, which covers the fees and travelling expenses of the three or four necessary lecturers and demonstrators, together with printing. The inviting Committee meets all other costs, and the courses are generally made self-supporting by means of students' fees, etc. The course lasts for a week, and the number of students naturally varies in accordance with local

circumstances, but often reaches between two and three hundred.[1]

The Principal of Westhill also conducts series of Lecture-Conferences, each lasting for a week, in various localities. These are usually attended by a considerable number of parents, to whom they afford an introduction to the study of Child-Psychology and Adolescence, as well as teachers in both day and Sunday Schools.

At Easter every year there is a Conference and Training School at Swanwick, for Sunday School workers, organised in connection with Westhill, and some 300 Sunday School teachers are given a four days' course of lectures and demonstrations.

(XXX)

The National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church was founded in 1811 for the express purpose of providing elementary education, and naturally its first concern still is with the "National" schools, of which so many thousands have been set up since that date, with Secondary Schools on a similar basis, with the Church of England training Colleges for teachers, and with questions relating to religious instruction in the day schools. It has a very considerable publications depart-

[1] A typical programme includes a Conference for Ministers on "The Minister and the School;" two for Day School teachers on "Story-telling"; four Bible Study Circles on "The Meaning of the Old Testament"; a Demonstration Play Hour; Demonstrations of the way in which to conduct departments—Primary, Junior, and Intermediate; Demonstration Training Lessons for the three grades; a lecture on "Stories and Story-telling," and one on the "Contribution of Christian Missions to the Interpretation of the Bible"; together with a daily series of sectional conferences—Primary, Junior, Intermediate, and Senior—on "Characteristics of the Period" (*i.e.* the age covered by each department); "Lesson Material" (for the first three); "Sunday Services" (for the fourth); "Training in Worship" (for the first three); "Week-day Activities" (for the fourth); "Opportunities of Self-expression, Individual and Departmental"; and "The Teacher's Part in the Life of the Department."

ment, however, from which are issued pamphlets and books for the guidance and equipment of Sunday School teachers. Miss Hetty Lee, M.A., is the Society's Organiser for Religious Instruction in Day and Sunday Schools, and during the year visits all parts of the country giving lectures to Sunday and day school teachers, parents, and others, and holding demonstrations of teaching methods. Short training courses for teachers are also held in various centres.

(XXXI)

The Church of England Sunday School Institute is, as its name implies, primarily an organisation for stimulating Sunday School work. It has a staff of seven secretaries whose time is wholly given to travelling through the country on tours which enable them to give lectures to groups of teachers, take classes, and organise Training Weeks and Summer Schools. During the year 1920-21 they took part in the work of Training Weeks at 33 places, as compared with 22 in the previous year, and in 31 other places they conducted Training Courses extending over three or four consecutive days, the number of Training Courses for the preceding year being 14. "These are all in addition to one course of fortnightly lectures for six months, and to isolated Meetings of Teachers and single days of Instruction." [1]

"The Correspondence School has completed its most successful year, the membership being 1403, as against 940 for the Session 1919-1920. This is 163 over the highest previous level of 1240, reached three years ago.

"The Correspondence School in the different classes provides help in preparing for the two Divisions of the Teachers' Examination, and in encouraging the special study of the Child Nature, Lesson Writing, and Sunday School Organisation. A paper of printed Notes is sent to each member monthly (from October to March). This paper contains questions on the subjects of the monthly study, which many of the members answer. These answers are corrected and criticised by a number of ladies, who give valuable advice to the members in their respective groups." [2]

[1] *Seventy-eighth Annual Report*, p. 12. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 12 f.

Students in the Correspondence School are not bound to take the Teachers' Examinations, and the Committee notes regretfully that only 375 sat in 1920-21, these coming from 37 dioceses.

In the Correspondence School there is an Elementary Class for young teachers and helpers, and the work is based upon a series of elementary pamphlets on "The Teacher's Life and Work," issued by the Institute. The Teachers' Examination Class is in five divisions corresponding to those of the Teachers' Examination. Division A I covers a three years' cycle of three subjects—Holy Scripture, Prayer Book, and Child Study and the Art of Teaching—which may be begun in any year. As so many teachers have now taken all three subjects, Division A II has been arranged to afford a fourth subject—Introduction to the Old Testament. In Division B, the Honours Course, four subjects are studied in the same year—Holy Scripture, Prayer Book, Church History, and Lesson Writing. Division C is the Child Study Class, and provides a simple course of instruction on the Child Mind and Child Nature, with special attention to practical applications to Sunday School work. Division D, the Lesson Writing Class, instructs teachers in preparing and giving lessons on accepted educational methods, and special attention is given to the preparation of lessons for children of different ages. Division E, the Sunday School Organisation Class, meets the special needs of Superintendents, and deals with the training of teachers, discipline, grading, and kindred subjects It endeavours to supply practical solutions of the problems attendant upon the introduction of the Graded System, and attention is also paid to the special needs and difficulties of small country schools. In all Divisions the work is based upon the text-books required for the Examinations. These text-books, one for each section, are all small and elementary in character, but bibliographies are supplied in addition.

Of the 375 candidates who took the Examinations in April 1920, 272 were in Division A, and 50 of these completed the three years' course and were awarded certificates : the

remaining candidates were in Division B—the Honours course.

Apart from this Central Organisation, most of the English Dioceses have appointed trained Diocesan Organisers for Sunday School work, the majority of these being women, trained at St. Christopher's College.

(XXXII)

The crown of the teacher-training work done by the Church of England Sunday School Institute is *St. Christopher's College, Blackheath*, founded in 1909, which "offers a thorough theological and educational training to ladies who are engaged in, or who wish to undertake, religious education in connection with the Church of England." The Theological Course embraces the Old and New Testaments, History and Contents of the Prayer Book, Doctrine, Apologetics, Comparative Religion and Church History. The Educational Section is divided into theory and practice. The former covers Psychology, Child Study, Methods and History of Education. The practical side includes teaching in Elementary and Secondary Schools, Sunday Schools, and Bible Classes, together with Girl Guide and Club work.

There is no entrance examination, but a good secondary education is necessary if students are to reap the full benefit of the course. Women (who must be over twenty years of age) may reside in College, or attend as non-residents. Men students are admitted, but only as non-residents.

The College awards a Certificate, candidates for the examination being required to have completed two whole years of study at the College unless they hold equivalent certificates in Theology or Education. Students are also prepared for the Certificate of Proficiency in Religious Knowledge granted by the Universities of Cambridge and London. Students who do not wish to take the full two years' course, but would like to gain an insight into modern methods of Religious Education, are welcomed for shorter periods. The teaching staff of the College includes the

Principal (the Rev. W. Hume Campbell, M.A.), a vice-principal and three lecturers.

The Principal writes :

" Our students pass out to whatever work they are best fitted to do. Some undertake the reorganising and conduct of Sunday Schools over various areas, diocesan, archidiaconal, ruri-decanal, and parochial : some go to secondary schools as Divinity mistresses, and many go abroad as missionaries or as governesses.

" We do not arrange Extension Courses or Summer Schools because the staff is too small and room much too limited, also because they are organised on a large scale by the Church of England Sunday School Institute, to which we belong."

Each year, however, there is a reunion, lasting three or four days, of former students, and lectures form a distinctive feature of the programme.

The Institute Report for 1920-21 states that :

" There has been an increase during the past year in the number of students taking advantage of the training offered by the College. In the Summer Term of 1920, twenty were in residence for the whole or part of the term, and two took the course without residence ; in the Autumn Term these numbers had increased to twenty-four and six respectively ; and in the Lent Term of 1921 they were twenty-four and seven." [1]

(XXXIII)

As an example of *continuous local work*, the activities of the Sunderland and District Sunday School Union may be cited. Each week it has a Leaders' Training Class which for the first half of the meeting takes a series of consecutive studies in such a subject as " The ' Old Book ' in its New Light " (Spring Term, 1920), followed by discussion, during the second half of the meeting, on " Child Study and Sunday School Organisation " (same term). There is also a weekly Teachers' Training Centre, the first half of the meeting being occupied by lectures on " The Romance of the English Bible " (Spring Term, 1920), followed by Lesson Prepara-

[1] pp. 11 f.

tion, in the second half of the meeting. The leaders are people trained at Westhill, and in the case of this particular term a group of Westhill lecturers and demonstrators were brought down for a special week-end. For the Autumn Session of 1920 the Leaders' Training Courses covered successively a series of seven evenings (each within a fortnight) on each of the three departments, Primary, Junior, and Intermediate, while the weekly lectures in the Teachers' Training Centre had as their general subject " Poets and the Child." In the Spring Term, 1921, the Teachers' Training Centre had one course of weekly lectures on " The Sunday School Teacher and Social Progress," followed by another on " The Care of Child Souls."

(XXXIV)

For many years the *Sunday Schools* in the North of England, like those in Wales, had regular classes not only for children and adolescents, but for adults of all ages. This custom still lingers here and there, but the growth of such independent movements as the Adult Schools, Brotherhoods, Church of England Men's Society, and others, as well as changes in the general outlook and habits of the people at large, have led to a great decline in adult classes among the Sunday Schools. Statistics are not available, but the impression of a minister who has had long experience in the North, and who has been particularly distinguished for his enthusiasm and success in the development of Sunday School work, is corroborated by others and may probably be accepted as typical. He says :

" In many schools (adult) classes still go on, but their character and range is decided by the personality that dominates each community. There are ' reading circles ' in many schools, dealing with general subjects as well as missionary matters, etc. Many schools have weekly and fortnightly meetings for girls or young men (or both, mixed), to hear and discuss lectures on literary and social matters. But the policy of schools changes very often. Classes are run for a time, then dropped, then resumed. *I think most good Sunday School workers urge their scholars and adults to*

join the municipal and other evening schools and classes. In most places it is the most sensible policy. Generally, I think our schools in the North are not running many classes except those of a general literary and social kind, with a syllabus like the enclosed."

(This syllabus is for a Girls' Guild, and is of the miscellaneous character described and illustrated in the later section on Guild programmes.) [1]

(XXXV)

Of *The Church of England Men's Society, the Brotherhoods Sisterhoods, and P.S.A.'s,* it may be said without unfairness that they really have no claim to be accounted educational agencies unless by educational is meant that a series of current religious, social, political (in the non-party and community sense) and international topics is brought before the members by attractive but not always authoritative speakers in short Sunday afternoon addresses. There is usually no connection between the theme of one week and that of the next, and no attempt at thorough discussion, though there may be a brief time allowed for asking questions of the speaker. In a few exceptional cases—mainly those of very large C.E.M.S. branches, or Brotherhoods, with memberships running into thousands—there are discussion clubs and study groups carried on during the week. Ordinarily, however, members desiring the opportunity for systematic study or attendance at lectures and classes seek it in adult schools, W.E.A. and Settlement classes, or other organisations created for directly educational purposes. The aims of the C.E.M.S., Brotherhoods, and P.S.A.'s are rather to bring together large bodies of men, especially those who are not attracted by church services and activities of the ordinary type, in an atmosphere of religious fellowship and for the purpose of mutual help in practical life as well as for moral and spiritual stimulus. But the platform speaker and his crowd rather than the teacher and his class are characteristic of these movements. The system by which members pay a

[1] *Vide* pp. 301 ff. *infra.*

penny or two a week into a book fund and each six months obtain a volume in accordance with their individual payments and choice has helped many men to acquire a few good standard books, but has frequently been vitiated by arrangements under which firms supplying cheap "lines" and "remainders" have contracted for the supply of the books, and have submitted lists that severely limit the choice made by the men.

At the same time it must be recognised that the national leaders of both the C.E.M.S. and the Brotherhood Movement greatly desire to stimulate definite educational work on the part of local branches. The Lay Secretary of the C.E.M.S. points out the fact that though the Branches and Federations of the Society are left free to make all their own arrangements, Headquarters acts in an advisory capacity and as a clearing-house of information, keeping in close and sympathetic touch with the various adult educational movements, and recommending one or the other according to the needs of any locality from which the request for advice may come.

"Very many of our Branches and Federations," he says, "are in close touch with both the Workers' Educational Association and the Church Tutorial Classes Movement—in a few cases, also, with the University Extension Committees. During the last two years we have urged our Branches and Federations to form Study Circles, and to co-operate, where necessary, with the various educational bodies."

One of the strongest, both numerically and otherwise, of the Brotherhoods in the country is established in a borough just outside of London. It is now developing definitely educational activities. One of these is an "Education Class," with regard to which its Magazine for October 1922 says :

"Social service demands not only moral enthusiasm but also an intellectual equipment—a knowledge of History, Economics, Industrial Law, etc.—which can only be obtained by serious study. The responsibilities that Democratic Government places on men as parents and citizens make it imperative that further facilities should be provided for the education of men of every social rank, and especially those

whose ambition is to serve their fellows, and to do their part in bringing in the ' New Order ' of things. Our Educational Class has been formed to meet this special need and is based on the educational requirements of the rank and file of men to enable them to gain such knowledge as will throw light upon the industrial problems and social life of to-day. It will meet every Thursday throughout the winter months. Each meeting will last about two hours, one hour of which will be devoted to an exposition of the subject by the tutor and the other hour to questions and discussions. The class is open to every member of the Brotherhood free of all charge : the only condition is that members should attend the class regularly."

One tutor was in charge of the work throughout the session.

The subject of this class was " Economic History and Modern Problems," and the Syllabus followed the lines usual in the first year of a university tutorial class, with 24 lectures.

In addition to this class there was a series of 18 weekly lectures on " The Growth of Social Institutions," open to all members of the Brotherhood free, and lasting from the beginning of October till the end of March. The lecturer had in the previous winter delivered a particularly successful series of lectures on Psychology, and the lecture in each case was followed by questions and discussion. In this case the Syllabus was comparable with that of a W.E.A. one-year class.

Besides the Educational Class and the series of lectures, the Brotherhood had a series of Bible Lectures and a Municipal Discussion Class.

(XXXVI)

A movement that has had distinct educational value is *the Fellowship movement* in its various phases. The earliest of the Fellowships appears to have been the Free Church, which was founded in 1911 by a small group of younger Free Church ministers and laymen concerned to present the Christian message in terms more suited to modern economic, social, educational, and psychological conditions, and to arrive at educational methods within the life of their churches

that would correspond more closely with those developing outside. The Fellowship soon came to include women, and in course of time reached a membership of six or seven hundred, which grows steadily but slowly, and suffers the inevitable changes of personnel. Ministers, teachers, and women workers in the churches predominate very considerably over laymen. The main methods of work are by means of local groups and an annual conference at Swanwick. The subject of the conference is determined several months beforehand, and usually deals with Theology, Church History, Church Life, or the Devotional Life. The various aspects are introduced by speakers who present the result of group-work done in their respective localities, or by special groups, but the study and discussion work of all groups throughout the year bears upon and is focussed by the discussions at the Conference. In several instances the Conference has given rise to a book, embodying, either in a short treatise or in a symposium, the general results of the corporate thought of the Fellowship.

The Anglican Fellowship is a similar but smaller body founded in 1912, working by much the same methods, but dealing almost exclusively with problems of theology and religious experience.

Joint Conferences have been held to consider certain topics and to weld together the results of independent research work. A subject recently under consideration was "The Psychology of the Religious Experience."

There are still smaller Fellowships, Wesleyan, Baptist, and Presbyterian, following similar lines and maintaining sympathetic contact with each other and with the larger ones.

The Student Christian Movement, during the War, was instrumental in promoting the League of Faith and Labour, which sought to bring together representatives of various schools of religious thought and respresentatives of employers and employed, whether confessedly Christian or otherwise, with a view to exploring common ground and integrating Religion and Labour. A number of week-end conferences

and discussions were held and a few groups met for consecutive study and discussion. The League is now embodied in the Auxiliary Movement.

The Teachers' Christian Union was originally founded by the Y.W.C.A., and subsequently was supported also by the Y.M.C.A., its object being to enable teachers, elementary and secondary, to equip themselves more fully to give religious teaching in the schools, and to study educational problems generally, from the religious standpoint. Branches arranged lectures (single, and short courses) and in some cases study groups, while also national conferences were held. In London, by co-operation with the University Extension Board, courses of extension lectures on Biblical subjects were held for teachers,[1] and a number of T.C.U. members in various districts joined Church Tutorial Classes. Bibliographies also were prepared for the guidance of teachers, the range of these including the Bible and kindred subjects, Psychology, and Education. This Union also is now merged in the Auxiliary Movement.

The Auxiliary Movement was founded in 1921 by the amalgamation of the Student Movement Auxiliary (a body of some fifteen or sixteen hundred former members of the Student Christian Movement) with Fellowships such as the Order of the Kingdom and the Norwood Group (containing leaders of Adult Schools, Educational Settlements, the Y.M.C.A., and Y.W.C.A., the League of Faith and Labour, and the Teachers' Christian Union). As has just been stated, the League of Faith and Labour and the Teachers' Christian Union subsequently amalgamated with the Auxiliary Movement. The purpose of the Movement is to foster corporate study and action on the part of men and women who, whatever their official relationship to, or aloofness from, the Churches, desire to see the principles of Christianity applied in all forms of personal and corporate life. It brings together people who have enjoyed the advantages of higher education and wish to find channels of service, teachers, and working people who are eager for opportunities

[1] *Vide* Section 9, on "Co-operation," pp. 419 ff. *infra.*

of further thought with regard to the solution of the practical problems with which they are faced. Some sixty local groups in various parts of the country were working during the winter of 1923-24 at problems of faith and conduct, education, industrial conditions, citizenship and politics, penal reform, sex, and race relationships, and in many cases took as a basis the Questionnaires issued by the Council of Copec. There is an annual conference at which some definite subject is taken for discussion and the results of group-work are compared and co-ordinated. The London Committee has continued to organise Extension Courses for which the University provided lecturers specially desired by the Committee, Prof. Kennett, of King's College, London, taking a course in the Old Testament, and Professor C. H. Dodd, of Mansfield College, Oxford, one on the New in 1923 and 1924 respectively.

At the Easter Conference, 1922, when some 160 members met at Cambridge, there were courses of lectures on the Bible, Education, International Relationships, and Recent Developments in Psychology, followed in each case by discussion, and a series on the Approach to Religion through Science, the Labour Movement, and Public Administration, together with a series of addresses on "The Meaning of Easter."

These Fellowships are all definitely educational in their programme, are composed mainly of men and women possessed of considerable practical experience of life, and are endeavouring to find a solution by research and corporate thought, as well as by experiment, of some of the pressing problems of the present time. Though they do little in the direction of organising formal lectures and classes, they have proved a very effective stimulus to group study and to that systematic reading and research on the part of individuals which is essential to the progress of adult education.

SECTION 3

EVIDENCE GATHERED FROM INDIVIDUAL CHURCHES AND CONGREGATIONS

Among the Free Churches, guilds, institutes, and literary societies are the typical organisations, other than meetings for worship, spiritual fellowship, philanthropic activities, or church business, intended to cater for the needs of adults during the week. Out of these arise, or round them gather, special study circles, discussion groups, and so forth, which are of a less permanent character though they do more intensive and purposive work. The aim generally is to attract " young people " by appealing to what are believed to be their prevailing interests and tastes, and thus not only to supplement the sermons that they hear on Sunday mornings or evenings and the addresses to which they listen on Sunday afternoons, but also to maintain their loyalty to the general life of the Church. The Church of England seeks to meet this need rather by the establishment of clubs (chiefly in working-class neighbourhoods), with rooms or buildings of their own open all the week through, and does not so frequently provide, where clubs are not possible or not necessary, a weekly meeting of the guild or literary society type.

The average guild or literary society programme is of a very mixed kind, social evenings, whist drives, " impromptu speeches " evenings and " Mock Lord Mayor's Banquets " being interspersed with lectures and an occasional debate. The lecture-list is generally of a light character, recreational rather than educational, rarely showing any continuity of subject, or leading to anything in the form of discussion or

real thought, work, and self-expression on the part of the members. This is true also of the " lecture " or " literary " night in the ordinary parish club, if such a night comes into the weekly programme at all.

Some guilds and literary societies, however, take their task more seriously. If the programme consists entirely of lectures, these deal with literature, art, music, science, and civic and international questions, more than with travel, purely topical subjects, and the humorous aspect of life. Some churches now have separate guilds for men and women, with a monthly meeting in common, and arrange that after the hour devoted to the lecture there shall be an hour for discussion. In these it is increasingly the case that a short series on a special subject is either interspersed with the others, fortnightly or monthly, or is given in four, six, or eight consecutive weeks.

The churches are making an increasing use of drama, beginning perhaps with morality or miracle plays at special seasons, or such Biblical plays as those written by Canon W. H. T. Gairdner (often presented in the church itself as a definitely religious act), and going on to the shorter plays of writers like Synge, Drinkwater, and Galsworthy. At St. Paul's, Covent Garden, certain plays are produced in church on Sunday afternoons " not merely as plays on religious themes, but as an integral and basic part of Divine worship." At St. Silas', Kentish Town, mystery plays are produced in the church at fairly frequent intervals. The Catholic Play Society exists to promote the revival of religious dramas as a part of the teaching department of the Church, and has done very valuable work. Pageants, too, are being utilised as a means both of social intercourse and of educational stimulus. Sometimes the dramatic society is a separate organisation : sometimes it is a part of a guild or literary society. There is always a tendency, of course, to regard the performance, rather than the intellectual and spiritual culture of the actors themselves, as the ultimate objective. This is reinforced by the fewness of play-reading circles. But neither the effect upon the performers of preparing a good

play nor the influence upon the spectators of witnessing it well presented is by any means negligible, even if there has been no conscious aim in producing the play beyond that of providing an evening's entertainment.

Music, though so obviously a valuable factor in education and so strong in its appeal to ordinary people, is for the most part confined to preparation on the part of the choir for leading the singing in church, singing anthems there, and giving an occasional oratorio or concert. Studies in the appreciation of music, and the creation of an enthusiasm for mass-singing, are apparently as yet far from the thought of most choirs, organists and choirmasters.

Due account should be taken of the aim with which the average literary society is started. Its function is not always intended to be purely educational: sometimes it is meant rather to act as a kind of draw-net. Thus a previously-quoted Report says:

"It has frankly to be acknowledged that some Literary Societies, as we know them to-day, are of small educational value. They are often little more than social clubs.

"Nevertheless the Literary Society has certain possibilities which should be explored and utilised:

"1. Its popular character may be a valuable asset. There must be some distributing agency among the week-night activities of the Churches, and from the Literary Society as a popular recruiting centre young men and women might be drafted into one or other of the more serious ventures of the Church. If the Literary Society have this potential value as a popular agency, then it should not be made too selective, specialised, or didactic in character. The variety of subject is a just means of attraction for the disposition and temperament of the young folk to be found in the circumference or outskirts of the life of a Church. From the popular Literary Society there should radiate a ring of small groups or classes for the study of specialised subjects.

"2. The Literary Society affords a natural introduction for any students in the church, scholars, thinkers, people of literary or artistic or musical bent, people who have specialised knowledge of any branch of life. It gives opportunity for the consideration of any matters which are not

directly church affairs. It provides for the inflow of a wider and richer stream of thought and research to the young mind of the church.

" The Literary Society might be made the means of more direct educational activity along these lines :

" 1. By introducing a series of interwoven courses into the winter's programme : *e.g.* three addresses each on art, poetry, music, education, etc.

" 2. By introducing a symposium, either at the end of the session or at regular intervals throughout the session, of the main facts, assertions, and thoughts associated with the subjects dealt with over a given period. This would tend to correlate the somewhat heterogeneous elements of the ordinary programme, and would prevent some of the material from being dissipated." [1]

The educational value of the work done by these guilds, literary societies *et hoc genus omne* may best be estimated from documentary evidence such as letters describing the educational work of particular parishes or churches and typical programmes of the various grades indicated above, while the comments of those who were kind enough to supply the information will be found illuminating. These comments reveal the nature of the difficulties to be faced, and while some of them are almost despairing, others are full of hope and show the significance of activities that may at first sight appear very small.

One minister whose long experience in flourishing churches situated in a Southern dockyard town and an industrial centre in the Midlands respectively had left him pessimistic wrote :

" I find that there is a strong dislike of educational work of all sorts. You may get a few people to take it up for a short time, but the thing soon gets feeble and peters out. The best thing of an educational kind that I have tried is a Guild. This had in it most of the senior scholars of the Sunday School. We had separate classrooms for different groups. It worked well for a time. People with technical knowledge gave the instruction, but the work was too exacting for the instructors, as they were at their own work during the day, and did this in the evening. It became too

[1] *The Church as a School of Christian Education*, pp. 84-5.

much of a burden, and the expense, too, was heavy. It was the kind of work that could be done better in the Continuation Schools. When you come to the ages above 18 you find that people do not care for educational activities. I have tried series of lectures, and paid high fees for them. People consistently neglected them. They preferred a magic lantern, a concert, or any ridiculous programme—the more ridiculous the more attractive. This education business is unpromising so far as the Churches are concerned. Study circles are all right for a few, but at best it is a few that take to them, and these give them up if there is anything more attractive to go for. I have run successfully for seven years a Social Union, but I regret to say that the educational side of it was the least successful. I believe it would be a good thing to have more debating societies, for those who take part in them are bound to do some thinking, and may benefit in that way. There is, in my estimation, more hope of getting those under 18 than those over that age to undertake work of the sort you suggest. One does not like to say it, but it is true that people generally don't want to be bothered with any task or anything that calls for effort of thought. The most one can expect is to get a few into a circle, and hope that through their influence others may be induced to take up the same courses of study."

A letter based upon experience of work in a Midland city and a West of England county town says :

" We have a Girls' Guild which caters for girls between 15 and 20 years of age. It has had vicissitudes. So much depends upon the personality of the leader. We do not attempt to compete with the evening classes provided by the Local Education Committee. Classes have been held in Folk-dancing, Needlework, etc., and a series of talks on Literature have been given.

" At the present time the situation is not encouraging. There is no response to any appeal for serious study.

" The Married Women's Guild is a most successful institution. Originally started to provide intercourse for young married women, it has grown to a respectable size. The average attendance is over 60. Addresses are given on a wide range of topics. The local doctors have been very helpful, and speak regularly on health problems. Also the Educational Staff of the County Council have rendered considerable help. For the past session talks have been given on the Care of the Teeth, Poultry-rearing and Fruit-culture

(County Council Experts), Della Robbia Reliefs (Head Mistress of High School), Children's Books (County Librarian), Joan of Arc, etc. I know it's very scrappy, but there is a certain amount of widening going on in connection with a class who need it badly—the young married lower-middle-class woman, if one may label a class without any offence.

"We have a finely-equipped Men's Institute, with a membership of about 120. It is well used, but, I regret to say, is purely recreational. Two billiard tables, air-rifle range, cards, etc., are the chief attractions. I have done my best to try to get something else incorporated, but at present without success. I have been hindered hitherto by the fact that there has been a branch of the W.E.A. in the town, of which I have been president. In consequence I have refused to compete with it. Now, however, I regret to say, the W.E.A. has come to an end. We had excellent lectures and were generously helped by the University. But the lectures didn't secure an audience, and if it had not been for the presence of teachers it would have been lamentable. The Labour people were asked to co-operate, were on the Committee, and talked a lot, but didn't help in the slightest. We arranged a tutorial class in the History of Economics, but they wouldn't look at it. Now that the W.E.A. has lapsed I shall organise a series of lectures next winter on our own premises. Our people had them before the War and they were successful.

"I have run study circles (Biblical and Missionary), but people in this part of the world are not loquacious, and it has ended in too much lecturing.

"Still, I have hopes that the time is ripe for another effort." [1]

The correspondent whose reference to the value of Sunday Bible Classes was quoted on p. 221 speaks with less satisfaction of other types of work. He writes from a large town on the outskirts of London:

"On weekdays I find it much more difficult to promote anything with success. The best educated young people have their nights taken up with classes which they attend with a view to their proper business equipment, and those who are free are keen to have chiefly recreation and amusement. (These terms with us include music, dancing, hobbies,

[1] For remainder of letter, see pp. 223 f. *supra*.

handicrafts, and gymnastic classes.) But I have always had a literary and debating society at which I personally preside. It has been worked with little outside help in the way of distinguished speakers. We take up all manner of social, literary and political topics, and it has certainly taught our people to talk. In some cases, perhaps, it has even taught them to think. University Extension attracts some, the specialised work of a remarkably strong local Brotherhood attracts others, and study circles, even when they are begun for the definite purpose of reading up some particular subject and dropped after a little time, lead, I should think, to fruitful intercourse."

The Chairman of Committee of the Literary and Debating Society attached to a very well-known church in a fashionable South Coast health resort says that the membership of the Society is about 250, with an average attendance of about 150, the members being chiefly elderly retired people, shop assistants, and a few professional people.

"The popularity of the subjects is in inverse proportion to their demand upon thought: *i.e.* folk come to be entertained, not to study literature. The purely literary evenings are the evenings on which the gatherings are the smallest but on which the enjoyment is keenest. The most popular evenings with the majority of the members are those given up to a Recital. As a matter of fact this church is not a typical one: elderly people predominate in the town and the atmosphere mentally is a sleepy one. The young people live out in the suburbs and are difficult to get on a week-night." [1]

Over against this the programme of the two churches already quoted [2] as having Bible Classes which adopt the

[1] A typical session's programme (three months) is: New Year's Social. Lecture on "Germany of To-day." Four prepared speeches by members on "My Favourite Book." Debate: "That Strikes are Justifiable." Discussion on "Robert Louis Stevenson." Concert. Lecture: "Moral Values in Shakespeare." Lecture: "Demosthenes—a Study in Oratory." Cinematograph Lecture: "Wild Life on the Bioscope." Lecture: "Plays of Sir J. M. Barrie." Dickens Evening.

[2] *Vide* pp. 221 f. *supra.*

Adult School Lesson Handbook are of a stronger type. The account of the Yorkshire one reads :

" I am sending you the syllabus of our Young People's Guild for last session and also for the previous session. In the earlier syllabus you will notice the study circles on 'Citizenship' (Student Christian Movement text-book), which come nearest to the ' education ' in which you are interested. In last year's syllabus the programme dealt only with fortnightly meetings, the understanding being that on the other Tuesdays we would have Study Circles which might attract some people who are not members of the Guild, and which Guild members as such should not have any obligation to attend. We took up Wood's *Personal Economy and Social Reform* (Student Christian Movement) as our text-book."

In the earlier syllabus the fortnightly Study Circle on " Citizenship " is interspersed with Socials, Lectures on contemporary poets, Debates and Discussions on popular topics, and impromptu speaking. The second syllabus, allowing for, but not specifying, Study Circles in alternate weeks, provides five socials, a whist drive, a concert, an organ recital, a play, a literary evening, and lectures on India, the Passion-Play, and the Mob-mind !

The West of England letter says :

" Last year our Literary Society covered a wide range and was of distinct educational value. We have a branch of the League of Nations Union, and had meetings dealing particularly with Internationalism. This year we shall be running similar meetings, and contemplate, in addition, Craft Classes for Servant Girls, and a meeting for men with addresses and lectures on the lines of the Rotary Club."

The Literary Society programme included lectures on " Experiences and Impressions of a Padre," " Modern Poets," " Bits of Old Bristol," " Eighteenth Century Literature," " Historic Cambridge," " New Zealand," " Free Trade " (followed by discussion), " Shakespeare and the Bible," and " Chaucer's England " : a League of Nations Evening on " Education in Internationalism " : a couple of miscellaneous entertainments arranged by other church societies : the reading of the play *Milestones* : and a musical evening.

A Young People's Society in North London reports a Handicraft Guild, a Study Circle, a Literary Section, a Musical Society, a Senior Gymnasium, a Rambling Section, and a Tennis Section. The winter programme shows monthly musical evenings, fortnightly meetings of the Handicraft Guild and the Study Circle, a couple of discussions, a lecture on Proportional Representation, and a Dramatic Recital.

"For the last three years I have had a Study Circle for young people of 18 or thereabouts. In the first year we studied English Prose from Bacon to Stevenson: in the second, English Poetry from Milton and Browning: in the third, the Makers of Modern Europe—Pitt, Chatham, Bismarck, Darwin, etc. This year we are studying the domestic and social life of the European countries, *e.g.* France, Spain, Italy, Holland, Germany, Austria. Each member of the group takes a turn in working up the subject (under my direction), and in introducing it at the meetings. For some months I have taken an Economics Class at my Men's Club, but I find this a great strain with all my other work, and I did not do it last winter."

Reports from similar neighbourhoods (thickly-populated middle-class, shopkeeping and to some extent working-class districts) within a short distance of this one both suggest a considerable keenness.

One presents the following summary:

"1. A Young People's Christian Union, meeting on Monday evenings throughout the year, except in summer: during each session (covering three months) some special subject is studied.

"2. Lecture-conferences on Christianity and Industrial, International, and Educational Problems, aiming at finding the Christian point of view in these matters.

"3. Study Circles of the usual type on Social Questions and on Christian Missions, using the ordinary text-books [presumably those published by the Student Christian Movement and the Missionary Societies].

"4. Courses of sermons on Sunday mornings and week-evenings, *e.g.* on the Life of Christ according to Mark, the Principles of the Reformation, The Great Historic Revivals, The Teaching of the Prophets of Israel. The demand for courses of sermons seems to be on the increase."

During one session the Young People's Christian Union spent five evenings on miscellaneous topics, but had also a short connected (and practically consecutive) series, with a different speaker for each evening, viz. "The Beginnings of Civilisation," "Ancient Civilisations of the Near East—Egypt, Assyria, Phoenicia, etc.," "On the Road in the Middle Ages," "The Life and Culture of the Greeks," and "Rome's Contribution to World Culture." In the following session there were two more lectures akin to these last—"The Downfall of the Roman Empire," and "The Birth of New Nations"—followed by two on the League of Nations, while there were also two on "Hamlet." In the autumn session of that year the four connected meetings had as subject "An attempt to define our attitude to Christian Science, Theosophy, Materialistic Evolution, and Communism," while there was a joint meeting with the League of Nations Union on Disarmament, following up the two in the previous session, and there were three or four on miscellaneous religious subjects.

The other report says :

"We have nothing to brag about here in regard to Young People's work. It is mixed in with manifold variety shows, due to the demands of the 'loose legs' and also of people who are obviously worn out by the day's work. There are :

"i. A Lecture Society : adult membership about 350 : syllabus varied—popular lectures and also educational : lantern slides often used.

"ii. Young People's Union—a literary and debating Society. About 50 members : solid meetings—subjects literary, often political : also discussions, with questions prepared and circulated.

"iii. Adult School : usual sort of programme : a small group of 12 or 15.

"iv. A Book Society. Peripatetic in drawing-rooms. About 20 members : older people : very good stuff usually.

"v. Senior Guides : also allied with other girls about 17-20 years of age. General programme.

"vi. The Young People's Fellowship : more religious but vigorously mental.

"There are also other groups—Bible Classes which range round in accordance with the tastes and demands of members,

and a Teachers' and Workers' group, which is more systematised. The same sort of things are repeated at the missions affiliated to the church.

"There are other Senior Groups which ebb and flow, but are useful for the time and have results, *e.g.* a Faith and Labour group, now defunct, and a League of Nations group, which boasts big meetings occasionally, but is not doing very good group work."

From suburbs in South London similar examples of work suggesting considerable possibilities are forthcoming. A Men's Guild, meeting weekly, has a very mixed programme of subjects for discussion, including a number of topics provocative of thought on current questions from the Christian point of view, each introduced by a particularly well-informed lecturer.[1] The subjects are not exactly consecutive, and lighter ones are interspersed with them, but they at least start the process of acquiring information and coming to reasoned judgments. A Women's Guild, also meeting weekly, has a joint session with the men once a month, though on the whole its own programme consists of much lighter subjects. But the Lecture Association of the same church had in the course of six months two special series of lectures, one of five lectures on "The Period Between the Testaments," by Professor H. T. Andrews, of New College, London, and one by Principal Garvie, of the same College, comprising three lectures on "The Application of Christianity to Social and Economic Problems" (Society Industry, and Commerce). The Young People's Institute had also a number of single popular lectures on travel, literature, and natural history, and an interesting arrange-

[1] *e.g.* "The Threefold Commonwealth," by G. S. Francis; "Ireland and its Claims," by Lt.-Col. C. F. Healy; "Industrial Co-operation," by A. Bellamy, of the N.U.R.; "The Present Outlook," by E. Bevin, of the Dockers' Union; "Christianity and Economics," by the Rev. Will. Reason; "The Place of Local Option in Temperance Legislation," by the Rev. W. Dick; "Psychology and Society," by the Rev. A. D. Butler; "Local Public Health Administration," by Dr. A. Wellesley Harris; "The Present Discontents," by J. Scott Duckers; "Private or Public Ownership of the Liquor Trade," by Capt. R. L. Reiss.

ment is that of two matinée visits to the "Old Vic." The Graded Sunday School has its preparation classes for teachers, and a special week of lectures on Lesson Preparation and the Art of Teaching was arranged.

In a district not far away a Men's Guild provides a similar weekly programme of one hour's lecture followed by an hour's discussion on such subjects as The Future of Democracy, The Colour Problem and the Human Race, Christianity and Trade Unionism, Christianity and Public Life, Religion and Psycho-Analysis, Christian Sociology, and A Levy on Capital, while interspersed is a series of four "Ancient Merchant's Lectures," by Principal Garvie, on "Christianising Society." There are debates on "Is Socialism Economically Sound?" and "The League of Nations as the best guarantee of world-peace." One or two socials and a couple of whist drives are included. The Guild draws its membership not only from among the men of the church which founded it, and of other neighbouring churches, but from among those who have no attachment to any church at all. This church has a fully Graded Sunday School, with preparation classes, in charge of a specially trained and set apart full-time woman assistant to the minister. There are Sunday Afternoon Fellowships for young men and women respectively, and the young women's syllabus for two sessions has connected series of studies in the Christian Creed and chief Doctrines, and in Christian Discipleship in Personal and Social life, a different speaker introducing the discussion each Sunday. A particularly interesting and fruitful experiment is that of organising a Parents' Association, with monthly meetings for the discussion of problems in the psychology and education of children, co-operation between parents and teachers, and so forth, which has attracted, for serious study and conference, parents who appeared previously to take no interest in the work or teaching of the church, though they sent their children to the Sunday School.

Reports received from another church deal with all the activities pursued, but reveal little or no *definite* adult educational work through the ordinary societies, such as

the Young People's Society, which has a programme of the usual mixed kind. But a correspondent writes :

" Our neighbourhood is well supplied with lectures on various subjects (there is a well-known Conservatoire of Music, which has series of Popular Lectures, and there are also various Scientific Societies in the district), so that our adult members have good opportunities for acquainting themselves with such matters, apart from the actual work undertaken by the church. In fact, from October to April one can be out almost every night of the week."

But an excellent series of six lectures on " Women in Public Social Work " was arranged, at intervals of a week.[1] Then, too, a responsible worker at one of the church missions, situated in an adjacent, thickly populated working-class neighbourhood, writes :

" Our Mother's Meeting has about 60 members, and we endeavour to educate their minds in all practical matters which concern housewives and mothers, though I am afraid we never regarded our meeting in the light of ' adult education.' Immediately before an election we have special speakers to guide their views with regard to the use of their vote. But really, speaking fairly, our one aim and object in running the meeting is to win mothers for Jesus Christ, believing that before everything this spirit in their homes is the most important thing."

A famous Mission in Central London reports :

" We appreciate your difficulty in the interpretation of the term ' education ' in regard to our church work, as we may certainly claim that a large part of our religious work is educational : our Sunday evening service, for instance, is probably the only educational influence in the lives of a considerable proportion of the large congregation we have here, and the same remark would apply to our numerous Bible Classes, and to our ' Forum ' and Bible Study service during the week.

[1] " Women in Drama " (Miss Lena Ashwell) ; " Women in the Pulpit " (Miss Kathleen Denham) ; " Women in Commerce " (Miss Burlton, of Selfridge's) ; " Women in Music " (Miss Emily Daymond, of the Royal Holloway College) ; " Women in Organisation " (Miss Dawson, of the National Union of Women Teachers) ; and " Women in Social Work " (Dame Meriel Talbot, of the Overseas Settlement of British Women).

"With regard to our Sunday School, we feel that, in common with a large number of the most progressive churches at the present time, a most important educational work is done in the Graded School system. We have here over 40 teachers who are young people over 18 years of age, and who are only allowed to teach after joining in a Preparation Class taken by one of the Leaders who is specially qualified, in many cases by a long course of training, and it must certainly be claimed that the work among young teachers is of educational value.

"In our Sunday afternoon Men's Meeting our object, while distinctly religious, is much wider in scope, the effort being made to educate the men in Christian citizenship and to make them acquainted, at first hand, from speakers of authority, with social, municipal, political, and philanthropic effort of a progressive character. We have periodically in this connection a Discussion Circle, to consider further social questions which are raised on Sunday afternoons.

"Our Women's Meeting on Monday evening is of a similar character, though the addresses are much simpler in form.

"In connection with our Institute for Young People we have had a number of series on First Aid, Home Nursing, and Infant Care Classes, the members of which have taken certificates of proficiency, after going through the course.

"Our Girls' Club is under the special leadership of a Sister who devotes her whole time to the work. The majority of the girls are over 18 years of age, and the classes include Plain Needlework, Shorthand, Literature, Singing, Dressmaking, Fancy Work, Embroidery, and occasional series of Health lectures.

"On Monday and Wednesday evenings, a Choral Society meets here, and has unquestionable educational value in teaching singing and orchestral music. It is an old established organisation, in which a large number of people have had an opportunity, through the Tonic Sol Fa system, of taking up singing, who would not otherwise have been able to do so.

"Our Boys' Brigade includes a number of lads over 18 years of age who in the Boys' Life Brigade have courses of First Aid Training and Stretcher Drill, as well as the usual gymnastic and other exercises of Boys' Brigades.

"The Elocution Circle meeting on Tuesday evenings maintains an interest in elocutionary and dramatic effort, and, in addition to lighter work, is constantly producing plays founded on Dickens's works, and Shakesperean and other plays of literary value.

"The Mutual Improvement Society is responsible for the lectures: travel, history, and literature occupy a large proportion of this programme.

"I may say that our Girls' Club and Institute Classes are mostly conducted in connection with the L.C.C. by certified teachers, and where voluntary aid is accepted, it is only from competent helpers."

Comment upon the value of music as an educational factor comes also from the head of a Mission in a Lancashire mill town, who sends a Guild programme in which devotional, literary, and social evenings alternate, and remarks:

"We have musical societies, orchestras, choirs, etc., which may not be accounted adult education, but I think it is scarcely realised how much the Churches do for the musical education of the people."

The Secretary of a Public School Mission near the centre of London sums up the situation there as follows:

"I think you may take it definitely that we do no purely educational work at all. When we got into our new building here, we considered the question, but felt that if real education were undertaken, it would have to be done on fairly wholesale lines, and our Mission was, of course, not put up for that purpose, the education we give being chiefly moral and not mental: we knew, too, that the Cripplegate Institute and the Northampton Institute were specialising in this direction. If I were asked for a rough statement I should say that we really do nothing educational, though some people might imagine that we do. As far as I can recollect, the only effort we make in that direction is having Health Lectures from time to time at our Mothers' Meetings. We have started a Wesley Guild, but, roughly speaking, those who lecture merely get up a subject for the occasion and are not experts in any educational way. The Guild programme is perhaps more ambitious on the face of it than it would be in actual practice. Very occasionally we have a lecture instead of our usual weekly concert, the subject generally being Nature Study: we have had such men as Kearton, but the lectures do not prove very attractive. Beyond this we have special Sunday School study classes, one being a Preparation Class for the next Sunday's lesson, and another a kind of training class for those who will one day become teachers. This, I think, is the nearest to pure education

that we have. There are also study circles in connection with our Foreign Missionary work: these last six or eight weeks, and this time is devoted to the careful study of some Handbook."

A worker in a Central Mission in a Midland city details activities among adolescents, chiefly girls, but goes on to say:

"With the majority of these over eighteen years of age there is a somewhat disinterested attitude towards the important things of life, but it is because of the kind of work they have to do and the kind of homes they have to live in"

—the argument being pressed that work among adolescents is the one hope of dealing successfully with the adults of the succeeding generation.

In a Northern manufacturing city another Central Mission records as its educational activities:

(1) Brotherhood and Sisterhood every Sunday afternoon for the last eighteen years: careful addresses on religious, social, economic, educational topics, often by national experts.

(2) Bible Classes. The Rev. R. Martin Pope, M.A., Cambridge University Extension Lecturer, in October and November, 1921, gave a series of six lectures on "The Bible in the Light of Modern Knowledge." In 1922 he gave a series of six lectures on "The New Testament in the Light of Modern Knowledge."

(3) Literary and Debating Society weekly during the winter months. Syllabus miscellaneous, but subjects of really educational value, many being given by Municipal Officers or representatives of local institutions on topics related to civic life, history, health, and so forth.

(4) Choral Society of 220 members, meeting weekly, oratorios each year and one or two secular works.

(5) Saturday concerts and, once each month, public lecture (chiefly lecture agency).

(6) Christian Evidence Class weekly.

(7) Girls' Club of 150 members: classes in dressmaking, millinery, plain sewing, elocution, singing, drill, by competent instructors.

(8) St. John Ambulance Classes for men, women, boys, and girls.

(9) Boys' Brigade and Home Fire Girls, with various subsidiary classes.

(10) Two choirs, receiving regular instruction weekly.

(11) Thirty weekly fellowship meetings, with a membership of 1385 adults: a great deal of Biblical and other instruction given.

The premises are available and are used for the city Literary and Philosophical Society, public lectures, and other educational work.

The circular announcing the course of lectures on the New Testament has the following interesting note:

"The interest awakened by last year's course, which dealt with the Old Testament, has encouraged the Lecturer to attempt a similar treatment of the New Testament. The object of the lectures is to enable teachers and students to grasp the conditions, religious, historical and literary, under which the literature of the New Testament came into being. The twenty-seven books will be treated in chronological order: the problems of authorship and form discussed, with the object of arriving at the facts: and the general meaning of the text so far elucidated as to explain how the New Testament has attained its unique influence in the life of mankind."

In a great many cases while no consecutive study is attempted there is a very real effort to induce thorough discussion of current problems of all kinds, and where these are not problems of belief and conduct, to relate them to Christian teaching and principles. Thus a Young People's Fellowship (Sunday afternoon) at a seaside resort in Essex has the following range of topics within a couple of months —The Miracles of Jesus, The Teaching of Scripture in the Day Schools, The Democratic Principle essential to Christianity, The Problem of Suffering, The Church and Amusements, The Meaning of the Death of Jesus, Immortality, Queen's Gardens. The Men's Association, meeting during the week, is equally wide in its topics—Rousseau and the Social Revolution, Bible Difficulties, Ritualism and Worship, Banking, Should the British Empire lead the World in Disarmament? Report of Special Committee on Local Education, The Cinema Industry. A letter covering copies of syllabuses says:

"We try to make our Young People's and Men's work as truly educational as possible. Our Sunday Schools are run

on the most approved modern methods. In addition to our definite church organisations there are several informal study and discussion groups—about three—which meet monthly for really strong investigation.

"In our Men's Association, about 40 strong, we follow, and intend to make more extensive, the policy known in America and Canada as the Regional Survey. We appoint a suitable Committee to find out everything about some local situation or problem or interest, and report for the benefit of the Association. We have done local education in this way, and the development of our Borough. We have in mind the Cinema and town's amusements, the tramway system, the Borough Council, the work of the Corporation, the local political parties—and all this with a view to the wider and better application of Christian principles.

"Our Young People's Fellowship was founded a few months ago, but is going strong, It has about 50 members. Their discussions are vigorous, but cloudy; still, there is great promise and they mean business. Our Social and Literary Society has been, like most of these things, rather dilettante, but we hope to improve that this year."

A Congregational Church in the North has a monthly "Forum," on Sunday afternoons, when the church is usually filled. The Forum is open to men and women, and meets to consider matters affecting the well-being of the nation in an unsectarian and non-political atmosphere. It began in 1922. The programme for 1922-23 (meetings are held from autumn to spring) included addresses on subjects chosen in view of the Copec Conference at Birmingham in April 1924.[1]

How far a number of addresses, followed by discussion, on more or less related but not really unified topics can have educational value is always disputable. Their chief use is, of course, either to bring to a wider group the findings of a smaller one, on the excellent but not frequently adopted

[1] Prof. Gilbert Murray on "Peace and the League of Nations"; Mr. Stephen Graham on "The Press and the People"; Mr. J. A. R. Cairns on "Crime and Punishment"; Mr. Philip Snowden and the Hon. W. Hulme Lever on "Harmony in Industry, from the Labour and the Capitalist standpoints respectively"; and Mrs. Burnett on "Sex."

lines of the Men's Association just described, or to suggest further enquiry. A weakness is that one week's discussion tends to divert attention from that of the previous week, unless regular machinery exists for bringing together in the form of a study group those who happen to be particularly stimulated by a given lecture. Even without this, however, the cumulative effect may be good. The present Bishop of Stepney conducted, when Vicar of Portsea, a regular Sunday Afternoon Men's Conference on these lines, and remains so convinced of its value that he recommends it strongly in the Report of the Archbishop's Committee on *The Teaching Office of the Church*. Many clergy arrange short series of four or six such lecture conferences on Sunday afternoons in the winter, as, for example, does the Vicar of a South of England county town who for two years has co-operated with the League of Faith and Labour in this. A Vicar in a West of England city carries on weekly conferences of this kind all the year through, having started them as a result of his war-time experience as a chaplain. They are called the " Men's Social Class and Club," and like those in Portsea and elsewhere to which reference has just been made, they attract several hundred men each Sunday afternoon. A recent syllabus covering, be it noted, *the months from May to August*, which are generally regarded as impossible from the point of view of indoor meetings, has a preparatory letter which runs :

" To create a local Parliament in which we can discuss life and its various energies, its difficulties, labours, recreations, tyrannies and pleasures—to try to find a solution for our problems and to create public opinion—to make the church really human, and to get into touch with the lives of men : this, to me, is the right thing to do.

" Anyhow, it will do us no harm to meet each Sunday for an hour, to discuss some phase of life, to hear a good song, and to smoke a pipe together.

" To develop the Community idea of life will do us more good than harm. Life is just crammed with problems, and a social atmosphere is jam to the pill.

" Will you read carefully the list of speakers and their subjects ? The field is as wide as I can make it."

There is no doubt that in addition to the more serious and thoughtful men who attend and participate many others come who would never dream of going to a smaller class or a consecutive series of lectures. Each meeting begins with prayers, and many of the men, who all appreciate this, would not attend a church service or other religious gathering where similar questions may be under discussion. That their horizon is widened by regular attendance at a series of this kind can hardly be questioned.[1] The Vicar says that he has noticed a broadening of outlook and a mellowing of thought on the part of the men generally: while they take strong views they do not express them in the same crude and extreme, or dogmatic and intolerant, way that was common at first. This suggests that an educational influence is at work.

It may be thought that activities of this kind should be considered in connection with the work of P.S.A.'s, Brotherhoods, and the Church of England's Men Society, which are mentioned elsewhere. They are brought in here, however, just because they are not the result of propaganda on the part of any national movement, but, in their freedom and in the character of their programme, they represent an original local effort to attempt something on educational lines even if they have been unable to get very far. It is probable that there are very many meetings of this kind, which, because they are not affiliated to any national organisation, are frequently overlooked.

While, on the whole, Men's Meetings of this sort are more

[1] The list of topics is :—"Labour" (from the point of view of the Church Socialist League). "The Moral Aims of the Labour Movement." "The Church and Modern Thought, No. 2." "The Science of Government." "Is the Idea of Progress an Illusion?" "Co-Partnership." "Trade Boards as Organs of Industrial Self-Government." "The Aftermath." "Things that Matter." "Creating an Atmosphere." "Christ or the Sword." "Why has Christianity Failed?" "Should the Present Industrial System be abolished or modified?" "The Place of Religion in a Man's Life." "Proportionate Representation." "The Carpenter." "The Shaftesbury Homes and *Arethusa* Training Ship." Summing up—by the Vicar.

numerous and of a stronger character in the North than in the South, there is a very little difference between the Guilds, Literary Societies and so forth in the North and those in the South. A group of programmes from Tyneside societies of this sort show the same miscellaneous character. One has in a six months' programme a predominance of literary lectures, with four dramatic evenings and three socials. Another has, in four months, five musical evenings (including three lectures, with musical illustrations), literary and travel lectures. A third has evidently a desire to develop the abilities of the members as public speakers, since it opens a six months' programme with a Lord Mayor's Banquet, and has evenings devoted to impromptu speeches, a mock trial, and a " House of Commons," with a debate on Modern Civilisation and another on State Ownership and Control of Services of Public Utility : it has also lectures on Dante and Beatrice (with Rossetti illustrations), and Mendelssohn and his Music (with vocal and instrumental illustrations), a lecture on Abraham Lincoln, and an evening devoted to readings from Drinkwater's play, and there are two dramatic evenings, but the plays presented appear to be of an ephemeral kind. The programme, however, aims throughout at stimulating self-expression on the part of the members, instead of merely bringing well-known popular lecturers for them to listen to. In connection with this society the minister writes :

" Quite a lot of really good work is being done in many of the churches along lines that are educational, using that word as broadly as possible. I have found it very helpful to get a number of my young people away together for a long week-end (say from Thursday to Tuesday at Easter time), and fix upon a centre like Gilsland, on the borders of Northumberland and Cumberland, where historic interests abound. We have been able to mix a considerable amount of recreation with information in the way of short talks on Roman remains, botanical specimens, and geological features of the countryside."

So far as educational work goes, the same minister refers to a Young People's Class on Sunday afternoon for con-

versation and discussion, the present subject being "Religions of the World." He reports a series of six lectures arranged by the local Congregational Council, given by eminent authorities such as Principals and Professors of theological colleges, and dealing, the first three with "The Origin and Development of Congregationalism," and the second three with "Congregational Worthies." [1] Another series of lectures was carried through in connection with the Cathedral and a Congregational Church, by co-operation between the Dean and the Minister respectively: in the course of a week the Rev. Harold Anson, of the Guild of Health, gave five lectures and preached two sermons dealing with the psychological and religious aspects of health and disease.

A well-known church in Manchester has a "Fellowship" which meets weekly, and follows a miscellaneous programme including devotional, social, and educational evenings. The lectures given at the latter cover travel, music, natural history, and science, but they include also a definite course of six University Extension Lectures given fortnightly between November and February. For 1920-21 the subject was "The Growth of Internationalism in Modern History." A membership charge of 1s. 6d. for the winter was made, but those who wished to attend the Extension Lectures as members of the Fellowship were charged a total fee of 4s. Those who were not members of the Fellowship but who desired to attend the Extension Courses were charged 4s. for the course or 1s 6d. for a single lecture. This point has a bearing upon the question of co-operation between churches and University Extension Boards, as we shall see later.

At this same church the Fellowship programme for 1921-22 included only miscellaneous lectures, while in 1922-23 the place of the Extension Lectures was taken by a monthly study circle, dealing with a portion of the Questionnaire on "Property and Industry" issued in preparation for the 1924 Conference on Christian Politics, Economics, and Citizenship.

[1] Cf. p. 325 *infra*.

One church in a Southern Cathedral city reports a Literary, Musical, and Debating Society, with the usual type of programme, but states also that it is represented on the League of Nations Union Council, on the Workers' Educational Association, and on the Educational Defence Committee, but no particular educational activities appear to result within the church itself.

Another in a Southern seaport town says :

"The young people are provided for by means of our 'Institute,' which is the usual kind of organisation, branching out into a Bible Class, a Missionary Study Circle, a literary evening now and again, and providing games—billiards, football, cricket, etc."

A Guild programme from an Eastern Counties market town is distinguished by the use made of pageants and masques. This Guild also had an Arts and Crafts Exhibition for two years in succession, and missionary study circles for three : attempts at an Economics class did not succeed.

The Minister of a prominent Unitarian church in Lancashire says :

"It is true that the Churches are behindhand in educational work for adults. There are Sunday Schools and Young People's Classes, etc. There are P.S.A.'s and Brotherhoods, but these do not fill the adult education bill. I do not know that the people called Unitarians are any more forward than anyone else. So far as I am aware, there is no organised effort for the education of adults. There have been sporadic attempts (rather at the devotional life and religious education) along Christian Endeavour or Guild Lines, and amongst our churches you would find here and there Adult Discussion Societies, Literary Societies, and the like : also, possibly, institutions similar to the Social Problem Circle and the Fellowship of Youth which I run here—the one for political and social education (lectures, meetings, study circles), the other for religious and ethical life of young people of 18 to 40 (members' weekly meetings, group study, instruction by myself, discussion, etc.). In a few of our churches attempts at Adult Schools are made. But there is nothing concerted and nothing denominationally organised. The great educational medium in the church is the pulpit, but alas, it is not so used."

A point of interest is raised by one minister who has worked in an Essex market town and in a University city. He says :

" In neither place have my churches done anything systematic in Adult Education. We have run successfully occasional study circles on more or less conventional lines, and I have found so keen a desire for something of the sort that we have started a Bible Group on one of Maltby's pamphlets without waiting for the cooler weather to arrive. All attending the first meeting were over 16 years of age. We are planning a much extended use of this sort of thing for the autumn and winter.

" Of course your enquiry raises the question in one's mind of how far adult education is really the proper work of the Churches. We are so often condemned for failing to do what is outside our real province. I do feel that we have a duty to help our own members to grow in the knowledge of Christian truth, but towards ' those that are without' evangelism rather than education is our task."

Against this may be set one other letter, which is written by a minister whose experience has been gained at a country place in Surrey, a market town in Essex, and a big manufacturing city in the North, which is also the seat of a University. The last two churches that he has served are old-established, middle-class, and prosperous. The Literary Society to which he refers has a programme that many would regard as quite up to the average, if not beyond it :

" My reply to the enquiry has been delayed partly because I have been busy but also because I am afraid I was unwilling to discover and confess how little we are doing. It is practically nothing. Perhaps the Churches are failing more here than at any other point, and I see no remedy until we appoint and pay for a teaching ministry. It is impossible for one man to be pastor, preacher, and teacher. I shall never be content until I have a colleague whose duty it will be to look after the whole of the educational side of the work.

" Apart from the pulpit, the only work among adults in this church that can be called educational is done by two societies, a Literary Society and a Women's Social Hour. The former is of a very ordinary kind. I am often asked

to give lectures for various Literary Societies, and they generally send me a programme. They are nearly all on the same lines—papers on literary subjects, with occasional excursions into History and talks on Travel. Their educational value is about nil.

" Our Women's Social Hour is a better thing. About 40 women generally attend on Monday afternoons. I believe the original idea was that the emphasis should be on questions of citizenship. There is a section that wants more ' Gospel,' but I think a good deal might be done with these various shapes and sizes of ' Mothers' Meetings.'

" Then there is the eternal problem of the week-night service. I think we have an educational opportunity there. Last winter I had a course of lectures on Hymns and Tunes which might certainly be included under ' education.' I am working now at a course on the Great Preachers of the Nineteenth Century.

" One great omission is that we have nothing for the adult men of the church. I have dreams of getting the men together in a rather informal way, to educate one another by talking over their pipes. I hope to do this some day."

Theological professors have in some instances made individual efforts to stimulate the educational work of the Churches by placing their services at the disposal of local congregations or societies for short courses of lectures. The willingness of churches to avail themselves of such opportunities varies, but the testimony of Prof. J. G. Mackenzie, of Paton College, Nottingham, is interesting. He says : " So far I have found the Churches very keen on the education of their adult workers." An average of 250 attended a course of four lectures on Psychology and Christianity arranged by the Congregational Church Council at Newcastle-on-Tyne during January, 1924. Prof. Mackenzie writes :

" For the last three winters I have given a series of six lectures in Derby under the Free Church Council and the Sunday School Union. These were given fortnightly. This year I gave a series similar to the Newcastle one, and am now giving them a series on Church History. Next year I shall probably give a series on Church Doctrine. As far back as 1917 I gave a series in Stafford ; for three years a series

at Accrington: Darwen, Nelson (2) have had series. At present Lincoln, St. Helens, and Ipswich are all asking for series. I have never given a series where the average attendance has been under 120-150, and many have been above this.

"My impression is that adults are still interested in the fundamental questions of Society, Personality, Christology, Theology, and Philosophy. A record of the questions I have been asked at these meetings would be a revelation to many.

"Along with students, Sunday School teachers, and keen young people generally, I have always been able to get a good many of the ordinary church-going people. There was no systematic reading, but always in the background was the suggestion of study, and I made a habit of interesting them in books." [1]

Press reports of the lectures comment particularly on the value of the time for questions and discussions that follows the lecture.

Such is the kind of evidence that it has been possible to get together from ordinary, average congregations and churches, clergy, and ministers in various parts of the country. It may appear very haphazard and miscellaneous. But much persistent effort was necessary in order to secure even this. Care has been taken to cover churches of all denominations, types, and circumstances—large and small, rich and poor, middle-class and working-class, urban and rural. The result may yield no very clear or striking picture. But it may fairly be taken as representative. Of course the material contained in this section must be considered in connection with that of the preceding and following ones. At the centre of each denomination there are those who are working for a more progressive and effective educational policy throughout the churches. But this section shows how the situation presents itself locally, just as the next shows what more exceptionally energetic or happily circumstanced ministers and congregations have attempted by way of effort towards more highly developed and systematised educational work. And, after all, the chief value of the

[1] Letter of January, 1924.

information collected for this section on miscellaneous work in the churches is that it reveals the existence of a great deal of life and activity which has far-reaching possibilities if it were more wisely concentrated and more carefully directed.

SECTION 4

NOTABLE EXPERIMENTS IN THE CHURCHES

(I)

Among the most notable experiments that have been attempted during the last twenty years in the field of higher religious education is the Church Tutorial Class movement. It is still small and tentative. But the measure of success that it can report and the various difficulties with which it has had to contend afford valuable evidence as to the lines upon which solid advance in this type of work is most likely to be made.

The spread of the University Tutorial Class movement, which he had founded in 1907, led Mr. Albert Mansbridge, as a keen Churchman, to consider the possibilities of creating a similar movement within the Church of England and specifically for the study of Biblical, theological, and related subjects, which the constitution of a university tutorial class and the existing Board of Education regulations for grants in aid of such classes rendered it difficult to teach under the earlier and more general scheme. But it was the positive aim of strengthening the intellectual and spiritual life of the Church itself that was dominant in his mind and in the minds of those who made up the little pioneer group which worked with him in this particular enterprise.

In July, 1917, Mr. Mansbridge contributed an article to the *Church Quarterly Review*, explaining and advocating his proposal. After describing the growth of the University Tutorial Class movement, he goes on to say :

" Quite early in the movement the attention of leaders of the Churches was drawn to the necessity for similar work

in their various communions, and, although there are few definite records of the establishment of such classes, yet the fact that the Tutorial Classes for general education have existed has had a marked effect on the development of serious study among the members of the various Churches."

After referring to a successful class at Leeds and to tentative efforts at Liverpool, reported to a meeting of Theological College Principals, Mr. Mansbridge proceeds :

" If the Church needs any temporal possession at all, surely it is the possession of knowledge. There should be no rest on the part of her members till the fulness of learning is within her courts. In quite an ordinary way members of the Church in their place and degree should have clear ideas of the central truths of the faith and should know something of the story of the years, and have power to connect all this with the general knowledge of the time which must be utilised for the mission of the Church. This cannot be general unless a certain proportion are reaching out untiringly and unceasingly for knowledge which will illumine the whole mind of the Church. . . .

" Certain things are clear, and of these the most outstanding are : (1) that such classes shall be, roughly speaking, of a University level, and to secure this they shall be attached to the Theological Faculties in Universities or to Theological Colleges : thus no teacher will be approved other than by such authority ; (2) that the classes shall operate for a prolonged period and shall aim at giving a complete education within the limits of the subjects studied ; that the subjects, whatever they be, shall be studied from a distinctly Christian point of view : in a word, the classes shall be in the best sense propagandist ; (3) that the classes shall be administered so far as possible by committees representing both the students and the teachers.

" Most of these ideas are gained from the experience of the University Tutorial Class Movement. The connection with Theological Colleges would be most fruitful because it would be possible to make provision for summer schools and even for retreats. Just as Universities have gained, so they would gain by striking their roots deep into the adult population. It is not proposed that members of the staffs of Theological Colleges should teach, except at summer schools, save where it may be both desirable and possible, but that the colleges should authorise teachers whom they would be willing to utilise should occasion arise."

He speaks also of the value that such classes would have as preliminary training for men who might subsequently seek admission to college with a view to ordination, and, on the other hand, of the opportunity afforded to the "scholar-clergyman" of teaching.

The Southwark Diocesan Conference took up the proposal and in 1916 formed a Diocesan Committee for Church Tutorial Classes, which, after careful consideration, called a public conference at Lewisham in June, 1917.

"The outcome was the formation of two classes, one at Lee and the other at Lewisham, both of which, after certain preliminary difficulties had been surmounted, were in full swing in the following autumn.

"The Lee class chose as its subject 'The Old Testament from the point of view of Modern Historical Criticism,' and the Lewisham Class 'The Comparative Study of Religions.' Members of both classes willingly pledged themselves to a two years' course (roughly speaking), 12 meetings before Christmas and 12 after, a total of about 48 meetings in the complete course.[1]

"Though it was in war-time, each class started with some 25 members and maintained, 'in spite of air raids,' an average attendance for the year of 20. The Lee Class, under the guidance first of the Rev. A. E. J. Rawlinson, and then of Dr. Crafer, studied the Hebrew Prophets.

"From the very first the class found itself compelled to readjust its ideas about the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures. False conclusions had to go, but reconstruction followed so soon upon the work of destruction that the period of bewilderment due to previous lack of proper Bible teaching was comparatively short. The gain to the individual members who have had the results of sound Biblical scholarship brought within their reach in the atmosphere of fellowship and frank interchange of ideas has been immense. To all alike the value of the Bible has been enormously enhanced, both as literature and as a book of revealed religion.

"At Lewisham, the subject chosen was the Comparative Study of Religions. Here again the war necessitated a

[1] *Memorandum on the Aim, History, and Outlook of the Church Tutorial Class Movement, Embodying the Experience of the Southwark Diocesan Committee, and set forth by that Committee at its 18th Meeting, February 19th,* 1918 (pp. 3 and 4).

change of tutors. Under the Rev. W. J. Brown's direction, the class devoted the first year to Mahommedanism. It is now studying Hinduism under its new tutor, the Rev. A. G. Herring." [1]

The aim of the classes, as, presumably, it was set before those who enquired about the Lee and Lewisham classes with a view to starting similar ones in their own districts, is thus stated :

"*AIM.* To stimulate the desire for serious and fearless study of religious subjects : and to make that study possible by providing competent and expert tutors to such students as are willing to work along recognised University Tutorial class lines, viz. :

" (1) Education not for ulterior aims, but for citizenship—in this case for citizenship of the Kingdom.

" (2) Membership to be open to all adults who undertake to conform to the rules.

" (3) Democratic management—each class to be allowed free choice of subject, place, and time of meeting, fee, etc.

" (4) Classes to consist of not more than 30 and not less than 10 members.

" (5) The period for discussion at each meeting to be approximately equal in length to the period taken by the lecturer.

" (6) Members to pledge themselves to study the selected subject for a period of not less than two sessions (of about 24 meetings each), and to attend every meeting of the class unless unavoidably prevented.

" (7) Members to be encouraged to practise expression of the knowledge gained in essays or other written matter. (In the Workers' Educational Association Tutorial Classes it is stipulated that essays shall be written by each member at about the rate of one a fortnight. This standard has not been reached by either of the Church Tutorial experimental classes at Lee and Lewisham ; nevertheless it should be the aim of members and tutors to attain to it.)

" In a word, our real object is to provide a means of education such as is not ordinarily afforded by our parochial or diocesan systems in subjects which can profitably be studied in the interests of true religion.

" We also desire to encourage a freedom and completeness

[1] *Church Tutorial Classes : Being the (first) Report of the Provisional Committee of the Church Tutorial Classes Movement* (1919).

of thought and expression which has perhaps been hitherto more common outside than inside the sphere of organised religion.

"We are convinced that, if the Church is to win back the respect and loyal co-operation of large numbers of thinking people, not only outside but also within her borders, she must set herself to acquire, and to encourage in others, a far more fearless attitude towards the search for truth in religious matters." [1]

In an appeal for funds issued in July, 1920, developments are thus summarised :

"The experimental work done during the last year has revealed the existence of a widespread need for classes, and where we have been able to make the scheme known, there has been an encouraging response in many parts of the country. At the moment there are classes in existence or in process of formation in Reading, Oxford, Banbury, Camberwell, Clapham, Crayford, Chelsea, Kensington, Bethnal Green, and Reigate. Others will probably be formed in the near future." [2]

In the spring of 1921 the Rev. Andrew Freeman, then General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Church Tutorial Classes Movement, was able to refer, in the course of a short paper on the subject, to "the existence of over a score of Church Tutorial Classes in various parts of England." Conditions, and perhaps also enthusiasm, were found to vary considerably as between classes. No full set of reports on all the classes that have been started is available, and the returns made do not all furnish as much detailed information as might be desired. It has been possible, however, to analyse and compare the reports sent in by six classes for the session 1919-20, and by ten for the session 1920-21. Two of the latter are among those reporting for the earlier year and so these two, at least, took a two-year course. Later reports show that several of these classes have continued for a third, and even a fourth, year. It seems clear, however, that a number worked through one

[1] *Memorandum*, pp. 1-2.

[2] "Adult Religious Education—a Vision and an Opportunity." See *The Church Reading Magazine* for April, 1921.

session only, and therefore correspond more nearly to what are known by the Workers' Educational Association, and to official educational bodies, as " one-year " or " preparatory " classes, rather than to University Tutorial Classes. Even these " one-year " classes, however, represent a great improvement upon what had previously been accomplished by the Churches. The aims and methods are much the same as those of tutorial classes proper, the main difference being that the standard of work is not quite so high and of course the period is comparatively short. Then, too, the class that began as a " one-year " not seldom develops into a " three-year," as so often happens in the experience of the W.E.A.[1]

In the 1919-20 classes the membership varied from 10 to 30, the average being just over 20. Of the 1920-21 classes none had fewer than 20 members, and one had the quite unusual number of 50 (with an average attendance of 38). Omitting the last-named, the average membership was 25. Of the two classes continuing for a second year one diminished from 25 to 23 and one increased from 24 to 28. In both years the average attendance at the classes reached a high percentage of the membership—in some cases between 90 and 95 per cent. Teachers (*i.e.* elementary and secondary teachers) are mentioned as members of almost all the classes. In one case 16 out of a total of 25 were teachers. One class

[1] Cf. p. 340 *infra*. The *News Sheet* of the Movement for December, 1922, stated that : " Members are expected to pledge themselves to the study of the subject or sequence of subjects chosen for the period of three sessions of 24 meetings each, and to attend regularly unless unavoidably prevented.

" Preliminary or experimental classes may, however, be started where it is not possible at once to embark on a three years' course provided the members pledge themselves to attend throughout a complete session."

This indicated a definite intention of maintaining the work at a high level. The list of existing classes given in the *News Sheet* was encouraging in that it showed a number of classes that had reached their third session. It enumerated five classes in the Diocese of Southwark (two first year, one second, and two third) ; two in the Diocese of Oxford (both in their third year) ; and two in the Diocese of Manchester (both in their third year). All but one of these took Old or New Testament subjects, the exception being one conducted by Mr. H. H. Slesser (now Sir Henry Slesser) on " Christianity and Industrial Problems " (cf. *News Sheet*, March, 1923). Cf. p. 340 *infra*.

of 20 would appear to have been composed entirely of teachers. "Church workers" and "social workers" are descriptions that appear frequently, and a number of clergy are included. Generally speaking, however, the membership of any individual class is very varied. One return specifies "teachers, clerks, printers, Sunday School teachers, post-master, shopkeeper, foreman-shunter." Another includes "clerks, teachers, chemist, printers, solicitor, curate, organist, railwayman." A third speaks of "Church workers, clerks, dressmakers, domestic servants." One merely says "Educated and middle-class," and another "teachers and lower-middle-class," leaving us to make deductions in any direction we choose. Mr. Freeman, in the paper already cited, says of the score of classes to which he refers :

"The membership of these classes is not made up of people of leisure. For the most part the men and women who compose them are fully occupied by day, and sometimes by night, in business. Many of them, rather than miss an attendance, go to their class from mine or engine-shed, from workshop, office, or school. They do this because they realise their need of deeper knowledge and also the unique opportunity of satisfying that need which membership of a class affords. . . . The object of the promoters of the Movement is to encourage men and women of all ages and opinions, and not necessarily Church people, to study some one or other religious subject with the same earnestness of purpose that they or their fellows have displayed in the pursuit of other branches of knowledge."

The variety of subjects actually chosen by these sixteen classes of which details have been received is remarkable :

Christianity in History : an Outline Study of the Church in Successive Ages.
The Gospels.
The Miracles in the Gospel of St. John.
The Origin of Christianity.
The Development of the Idea of God in the Old Testament.
Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion.
Christian Ethics.
The Bible in the Light of Modern Thought.
The Old Testament in the Light of Modern Research (2).
The Bible and the Modern Mind. (Old Testament.)

The Bible and the Modern Mind. (New Testament.)
Comparative Religion.
The Bible in the Light of Modern Criticism.
The Idea of God in the Old Testament.
The Old Testament.
The Hebrew Prophets.
Comparative Study of Religions.
Development of Religious Thought in the Bible.
The Background of Christianity.
The Teaching of the Gospels in relation to the problems of to-day.
Why I believe in God.

(The last six are taken from a list of Church Tutorial Classes of which no reports are available.)

One class does not state its subject in its report. In one town there were two distinct classes in "The Bible and the Modern Mind," one dealing with the Old Testament and one with the New, but seven students took the two courses contemporaneously. It is noticeable that of the two classes that continued for a second year neither took the same subject for both years. The first studied "Christianity in History" in 1919-20 and "Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion" in 1920-21: the second took "The Gospels" in 1919-20 and "Christian Ethics" in 1920-21. This is not maintaining the level of the Lee and Lewisham classes, which each gave two years to one subject. But again it must be pointed out that some classes of which no reports are available may have been as thorough as the Lee and Lewisham ones and may even have taken a third year at their respective subjects. One of the 1919-20 classes says that it is working "on W.E.A. lines—three sessions."

Apparently there is some difficulty in getting papers written. Several classes report that none at all were forthcoming. In others the proportion is small. The class with 50 members reports the writing of five papers per fortnight. Only one report refers to the discussions, and its comment is surprising in view of the information that the class is composed of "clergymen and teachers." It confesses to being "weak in discussion"! But that is not always the

fault of the class. Sometimes the tutor is not good at provoking discussion, or at handling it when he has provoked it : and he may even do too much of the talking himself.

One class says :

"Absence of suitable tutors is the great difficulty in this district (a great manufacturing city in the Midlands—and the home of a University to boot !). The class is self-managed."

Mr. Freeman, to quote once more from his paper, writes in 1921 that when people really desire a Church Tutorial Class,

"All they have to do is to form themselves into convenient local groups, choose the subject they desire to study, and fix on the place and day and hour of meeting, and also the amount of the contribution they are prepared to make towards the necessary expenses. It then becomes the business of the Diocesan Committee, or, failing that, of the Central Committee, to endeavour to secure the services of a properly qualified tutor. That word 'endeavour' marks the crux of the whole scheme—finance.

"Until adequate financial support is forthcoming, the movement will have to depend on Tutors who give their services either entirely voluntarily or for a mere honorarium. Adequate payment is out of the question. Moreover, where an honorarium is required it must in most cases be raised by the class itself. Fortunately, up to the present, Tutors of marked ability, and even of eminence, have been found to undertake the oversight of the classes, so that only two classes have fallen through because no tutor could be found for them—and these, not for that reason alone. But it is here that we are up against the real difficulty—the supply of capable and adequately remunerated tutors, men and women, lay as well as clerical."

In point of fact all the tutors of the sixteen classes mentioned above were clerical—mainly, if not all, parochial clergy. In five cases a small fee or honorarium was paid. The fees paid by students varied from 6d. per lecture to 5s. per session, but the average was about 2s. 6d. to 3s. per session. Where the amount thus received did not meet the actual expenditure incurred, the balance was frequently

made up by donations from outside people or by contributions from Diocesan Committees.

The Report of the Provisional Committee discusses this very difficult question of providing the necessary teaching staff and makes particularly interesting reference to the possibility of setting men apart for a period of years in order that they may render this service, and also to the value of the work that women can do in this connection—two points that have received special attention earlier in the present volume.[1]

"A Church Tutorial Class teacher requires special qualities. In the classes that we contemplate, he must be a convinced believer in the truths that he undertakes to teach. We think that all the teachers of Church Tutorial Classes must be Churchmen in the fullest sense of the word: for a Church Tutorial Class teacher must live what he teaches, and a Christian tone and temper of mind is at least as important as intellectual ability. He must also combine sound scholarship with the power of presenting the Christian Faith to unlearned men and women in such a way as to arouse interest and stimulate thought. He must be able to deal patiently with dullness of apprehension and sometimes with apparent irreverence. He must not be easily checked or discouraged.

"In many cases a layman would be better suited for the work than a clergyman—among other reasons because the demand that it makes on their time and energy is greater than the parochial clergy can be expected to meet, with all the other claims that are made upon them. We think, however, that as the system develops, it may attract to its service a body of ordained men who will devote themselves entirely to this work for at least three years. The work also opens a fresh opportunity of service to Churchwomen who have obtained the Archbishop's Diploma and the License to teach Theology, or in other ways qualified themselves as teachers of theology, and who sometimes find that the Church offers them no opportunity for the use of their powers. As the Movement develops, provision will have to be made for the training of Church Tutorial Class teachers.

"We desire to lay great emphasis on the importance of entrusting the work only to properly qualified persons. Much harm might be done by setting well-disposed but

[1] Ch. V., pp. 173 ff. *supra*.

inadequately equipped men or women to conduct classes in which Christian students sit side by side with other students who are studying theology, as yet, from an outside point of view." [1]

As to finance, the Committee is equally clear as to what it considers the necessary basis.

"In a few cases men or women might be found willing to conduct Church Tutorial classes voluntarily, but any attempt to build up a system of such classes on the basis of voluntary service would inevitably fail. The experience of the University Tutorial Classes has shown that a teacher who undertakes a group of four Tutorial Classes must give his whole energy to the work. He must be on terms of personal friendship with his students, correct their essays, look up points that arise out of discussions, and keep his own mind fresh by study. Tutorial Class work must offer a career to those who undertake it. The most that is expected of the class itself is a subscription to meet local expenses—hire of room, printing, etc. The University Tutorial Class teachers of the W.E.A. are provided by the Joint Committees, and receive payment which is normally not less than £60 per class per annum. The Board of Education make substantial grants to the Joint Committees in respect of their Tutorial Classes, and Local Authorities are also able to subsidise them. We cannot hope for any such grants in aid of Church Tutorial Classes, nor would it be desirable to accept financial help that would bring our classes under the control of secular authorities : and teachers of these classes must, therefore, be provided by the Church at its own cost." [2]

The ground plan of the national organisation required is sketched out by the Committee in a couple of paragraphs which show how much thought and care is needed if the work, while becoming and remaining an integral part of the life of the Church, is at the same time to satisfy all those conditions of freedom and self-determination apart from which no form of adult education is likely to succeed.

[1] *Church Tutorial Classes*, pp. 15-16.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 16. The new Regulations of the Board of Education, published in 1924, may make a considerable difference in this respect. Cf. pp. 152-154 *supra*.

"A Central Committee will be needed to take general supervision of the Movement, provide tutors, and supply information. Subject to this general supervision, the development of the Movement should be entrusted to local committees, for which the Diocese would form a convenient area, especially now that the boundaries of Dioceses are tending to coincide with those of counties and large cities.

"In the first instance the Central Committee must necessarily be a nominated body, but it, and the Diocesan Committees, should, at the earliest practicable moment, become representative. The present Central Committee was constituted at a representative Conference held on June 19th, 1918, at King's College, London. As soon as the Movement is established in a Diocese, a Diocesan Committee would be formed, consisting of representatives elected by the classes, or groups of classes, by the Diocesan Conference, and by Theological Institutions within the Diocese. It is contemplated that the Central Committee would eventually consist of representatives from these Diocesan Committees, with the possible addition of representatives of such Church Societies as the Church of England Men's Society, Church Reading Union, etc. It should be the business of each Diocesan Committee to inspect the classes within its area, and report to the Central Committee. Control over the classes might be secured if the cost were met partly by a Diocesan grant, and partly by a grant from the Central Committee, which should have the responsibility of appointing the teachers. The expenditure incurred by this Central Committee would be a legitimate charge on the fund for which the Central Board of Finance is now appealing. When the Church has created a theological faculty in connection with each of our English Universities as proposed by the Committee on the Teaching Office of the Church, a close connection should be established between these theological faculties and the Church Tutorial Class Movement, similar to the connection between the Joint Committees and the W.E.A. Tutorial Classes. The inspection of the classes might properly become part of the duty of one of the residentiary Canons of the Diocesan Cathedral, selected specifically for that work." [1]

Many of the proposals thus set forth in 1919 have been given definite effect—for example, those relating to the constitution, functions, and relationships of Central Com-

[1] *Church Tutorial Classes*, pp. 16-18.

mittee, Diocesan Committees, and Local Committees. Others, such as those referring to the connection of the classes with Theological Faculties in the Universities, inspection by Canons Residentiary, and so forth, are still no more than interesting suggestions. But there is no doubt that if the Movement attains the strength that it may and ought to attain, these developments, or others similar to them, with many as yet unforeseen, will prove inevitable.

In January, 1923, the Rev. H. Fort, then Secretary of the Church Tutorial Classes Movement Committee, reported that of 11 classes seven were then in their third year and one in its fourth, while the average third-year class retained 15 of an original membership of 30 students.

Major Povah, B.D., now Secretary of the Movement, has kindly supplied the present writer with a list (April, 1924) showing 12 tutorial classes, 1 experimental class, and 3 tutors' courses. Of the twelve, three are fourth-year, three third-year, two second-year, and four first-year. All are in Biblical subjects, and most are in Old Testament Introduction.

The most recent development in the Movement is that of "Tutors' Courses," which meet weekly or fortnightly throughout the winter. Two were held during the winter of 1923-24 under the tuition of Major Povah, and one continued during the summer. A third was held at King's College, London, under the tutorship of Dr. Box and Dr. Oesterley. The purpose of the courses is to prepare prospective tutors for Church Tutorial Classes, and the membership has been drawn from among parish clergy, Free Church ministers, and teachers (men and women chiefly secondary school teachers). The subject in all three cases was Old Testament Introduction. This is found to be the best way of initiating actual tutorial classes, since prospective tutors who have taken a refresher course of this kind are more ready to recruit and teach ordinary classes in their own neighbourhoods. The restriction as to membership of the Church of England does not apply to the tutors of such "Tutors' Courses," and the possibility of inter-Church co-operation is correspondingly greater.

Much is hoped from the residential Vacation School for Old Testament study held at King's College Hostel, London, in September, 1924, under the auspices of the Church Tutorial Class Movement, the Old Testament Society, and King's College. Among the lecturers were Professor A. S. Peake, Professor T. H. Robinson, Canon D. C. Simpson, Canon G. H. Box, the Dean of King's College, Dr. Oesterley, and Major Povah. This again is an instance of co-operation, not only between members of different Churches, but between an adult educational movement and a theological college. It is much desired that similar Schools should be arranged, on a like basis, in other parts of the country.

(II)

In 1919 an effort was made to initiate a Free Church Tutorial Class Movement on lines parallel to those of the Church Tutorial Classes. A representative meeting of theological college principals and tutors, ministers, and lay-people, drawn from practically all the Free Churches, cordially approved the scheme. It was understood to be desirable that the Free Churches should make a beginning on their own account, rather than put forward proposals at the outset for joint work with the Church Tutorial Class Movement. The supposition was that when each movement had become fairly well established in its own constituency there would be less difficulty in bringing the two into one organisation such as some members of each were anxious to see.

Unfortunately, though a small committee was appointed and asked to make arrangements for experimental classes in three or four London areas that winter, nothing was achieved. Very definite efforts were made, tutors were found, but owing to the fact that there was no one person available with sufficient leisure to organise these experimental classes from the centre, or at least to spend time in the selected areas helping to work up local enthusiasm, the recruiting of members for the classes was left entirely to local people, who were already heavily burdened with other work. As a result not a single class was gathered

together. But this result, disappointing as it was, is no proof of apathy. It merely indicates that if concentrated work of this kind is to be done it must be initiated by one or two workers who either already have a considerable amount of free time at their disposal, or who are able and willing to relinquish other claims in order to make a success of this enterprise. There is ample evidence, in the correspondence which took place in connection with this abortive effort, of sincere desire for such classes on the part of ministers, members of churches, and people not definitely connected with churches but deeply interested in the subject. Enquiries continue to be made about the proposal. There is also a most encouraging readiness on the part of heads and staffs of Theological Colleges to back up such work and to participate in it.

(III)

The King's Weigh House Church had already initiated a scheme of its own which actually came into operation in the autumn of 1919, and has continued to make steady progress ever since. It is remarkable as showing what one well-organised and well-staffed church can accomplish simply by making full use of its own resources.

A Religious Education Committee was appointed by the church which drew up a plan for a three years' course of Tutorial Classes, each year to be divided into two terms, October to December and January to March, with the following programme of subjects :

1st year : The Modern Message of the Bible.
1st Term—Old Testament.
2nd Term—New Testament.

2nd year : History of the Church, including Doctrine.
1st Term—To the Reformation.
2nd Term—Since the Reformation (with special reference to present conditions and prospects).

3rd year : Applied Christianity.
1st Term—Personal and Social Ethics.
2nd Term—International Problems (including Missions).

The plan provided for Tutorial Classes containing not more than (say) twelve students in each (students taking the course in the above order unless under special conditions approved by the Director), and for classes in all three subjects continuously, to be arranged by the third year. The classes were to be free, and open to members of the church, to candidates for membership of the church, and to others subject to the approval of the Education Committee. Tutors, who must be members of the church, must themselves be trained in special preparatory classes, their knowledge and capacity being submitted to the test of (*a*) An essay on a subject presented beforehand : (*b*) Written answers to questions, with consultation of books allowed : (*c*) A *viva-voce* examination, these tests being carried through by two competent external examiners appointed by the Education Committee. In exceptional cases, a tutor might be appointed on passing an equivalent test approved by the Education Committee on the recommendation of the Director. No tutor might be appointed in any subject unless he had reached a sufficient, but not necessarily the same, standard of knowledge in each of the three subjects of the course—a condition to come into operation only after the expiration of the first three years' working of the scheme. As soon as the occasion demanded, the Education Committee should appoint a Director of Religious Instruction whose duty should include the instruction of the tutors and the supervision of their work. The Education Committee itself was to consist of three persons appointed by the Church Committee, and to be responsible for the appointment of the tutors on the recommendation of the examiners. A reference and lending library was to be established as part of the plan.

All these proposals have been carried into effect. In the first year there was one class in the Bible (O.T. and N.T.) : in the second there were two in the Bible, and two in Church History and Doctrine : in the third, two in the Bible, one in Church History and Doctrine, and one in Applied Christianity. In 1923, the fourth year, there were two in the Bible,

one in Church History and Doctrine, and one in Applied Christianity. The tutors have been duly trained and set to work, and an effort is made each year to get new tutors from among the students in the classes in order to have a good panel from which to draw.

In practice the size of the classes varies: in 1922 the four classes mentioned above had respectively 17, 9, 10, and 13 students.

"Not only members of the King's Weigh House Church attend these classes, but also people from outside: in fact, we have quite a number from other churches. The main purpose of the students is, as far as one can gather, to educate themselves on these questions, but as many of them are teachers they would also find the classes useful from that point of view."

The classes meet weekly for a period of an hour and a half or longer, of which time at least half an hour is reserved for questions put by tutors to students and *vice versa*. Syllabuses are issued, and at the end of the statement of work for the week are references to books and a question, which each student is expected to answer in writing. The tutor corrects these papers each week, marks them, and hands them back to the student: the tutor also indicates in the general register at the end of each session the quality of work done by each student. The marking of the answers to questions is on a uniform basis, but the answers are not discussed with the individual student unless the student has questions to ask about the corrections. It is proposed to hold a term test at the end of the two sessions which will probably cover more ground, but its nature has not yet been determined. A certificate is issued to each student at the end of the session if the requisite number of attendances has been made and the required written work has been done.

The standard of work indicated in the syllabuses is high, and the books quoted for reference (there are no set text-books for any subject) are both numerous and of a scholarly description, including a number of source-books. The work demanded of the student is serious. The syllabuses on the

Bible and Church History respectively have now been printed, but as the syllabuses on Applied Christianity came into use only in 1922 it is still in tentative typescript form. An interesting point with regard to the printed syllabuses is that each contains also full particulars of the test for tutors in that subject. Space does not permit of quoting the syllabuses in full, but the headings under each are as follows, each forming the subject of one lecture :

Syllabus I.

The Meaning of the Bible.

A. Old Testament Course. (October to Christmas.)

Ancient Civilisations of the Nile and Euphrates : An Outline of Hebrew History : The Old Testament Record : The Early Religion of the Hebrews : Mosaic Religion : The Early Prophets : Prophecy during the Decline : The Fall of Jerusalem : The Restoration : Between the Testaments.

B. New Testament Course. (January to Easter.)

The Roman Empire and Palestine : An Outline of New Testament History : How the Gospel Spread : The Pauline Epistles (I) : The Pauline Epistles (II.) : The Non-Pauline Epistles : The Recovered Story of Jesus : The Johannine Writings : The Gospel Portrait.

Syllabus II.

Church History and the Development of Doctrine.

A. To the Reformation. (October to Christmas.)

The Early Church (to 161 A.D.) : The Church in the Second and Third Centuries : Development of the Church during the First Three Centuries : From Constantine to Charlemagne—World Changes and Extensions of Christianity : From Constantine to Charlemagne—Development of Thought : From Charlemagne to the Fall of Constantinople —Historical Background : Charlemagne to Fall of Constantinople—Development of Thought and Organisation : Church Life in the Middle Ages : The Greek, Eastern, and English Churches.

B. Post-Reformation. (January to Easter.)

The Background of the Reformation : The Reformation in Germany : the Reformation in Switzerland, France, the

Netherlands, and Britain : The Counter-Reformation and its Effects : The Origin of the Free Churches : The Puritan Decline and the Evangelical Revival : Development of Protestantism in the 18th and 19th Centuries : The Catholic Revival and the Revival of the Church Idea : The Problem of Reunion.

Syllabus III.

History of the Application of Christianity to Social Affairs.

The Kingdom of God : The First Christian Society : Authority : Liberty : Church and State : Crime and Punishment : Property : Work : Trade : The Body (two lectures) : The Sacredness of Life : Marriage : Art.

Consideration of such syllabuses must of course keep in view the aim of the classes, which is to provide " a system of co-operative education, something more familiar than lectures, more guided than study circles : a system of Tutorial Classes."

" Our Church, which is so concerned for the cultivation of common worship and the development of personal devotion, is equally alive to the need for wide and accurate knowledge and the application of Christianity to every department of life. It has therefore provided for its membership an opportunity for understanding the Faith by studying the record of revelation, by tracing the historical development of a religion, and by considering how Christianity can be translated into a social and international order in accordance with its own spirit."

The classes are intended " to cover in general outline what every Christian should know."

Possibly the most interesting reference of all to the purpose of this scheme is in the following paragraph :

" With the present need for an educated religious opinion, and for the realisation of the ideals of our Church, this system of Tutorial Classes should appeal to all who accept the full responsibilities of their membership, and while it is not made a condition of admission to Church Fellowship, it is expected that all young people admitted to the Church on confession of Faith will, if their circumstances permit, consent to submit themselves to the discipline of learning the certainty of the things most assuredly believed by us."

(IV)

From time to time local joint efforts have been made to provide for lay preachers, teachers and similar church workers. Doubtless several such are being carried on at present. At Newcastle-upon-Tyne the Presbytery had a Training Class which, as it came to include students from various Free Churches in the district, was ultimately, by arrangement with the Newcastle and District Free Church Council, taken over by that body and reconstituted as a School for Lay Preachers and Christian Workers, on the model of well-known organisations in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen. A Board of Studies, including suitable denominational representatives and the lecturers for the time being, was appointed. The work in its new form began in the session 1918-19 with a weekly meeting. The fee for each term is the nominal one of 1s. and covers the two courses in each term. "The School is open to both sexes, and its object to train men and women for effective Christian work," though students not specifically engaged in such activities are also welcomed.

"The knowledge imparted is systematic, and covers such departments of study as Old Testament Introduction, New Testament Introduction, Biblical Theology, Comparative Religion, Church History, Apologetics, Christian Ethics, the Theory of Preaching, and Sunday School Pedagogy. The idea is to present a general view or outline of the subjects, and to stimulate home reading along these lines. No sectarian teaching is given. The Lecturers are selected because of their special qualifications to deal with the subjects assigned to them."

In the session 1918-19 there were 108 students, 53 men and 55 women. Lay preachers, city missionaries, Brotherhood speakers, Sunday School teachers, leaders of Bible Classes, Mission workers and others are included in the constituency drawn upon.

The Session lasts from October to March and is divided into two terms, each concluding with an examination for those who wish to take it. Certificates of attendance are granted to those who attend with regularity, certificates

according to merit to those who pass the examinations, and a Lay Preachers' Diploma to those who attend for two years and pass prescribed tests.

The weekly syllabus (one lecture each week) for 1919-20 was as follows :

Inaugural Address on "The Gospel Under Modern Conditions."

First Term—October to Christmas.

Course I. The Religion of the Hebrews : The Pre-Mosaic Religion of the Hebrews : The Peasant Religion : The Prophetic Religion : The Legal Religion.

Course II. The Gospel of St. Mark : The Synoptic Portrait of Jesus : General Characteristics of St. Mark's Gospel : St. Mark's Picture of Jesus and His Friends : The Order and Arrangement of the Gospel of St. Mark : The Great Notes of St. Mark's Gospel.

Second Term—January to Easter.

Course III. Christian Apologetics : Anti-theistic Theories : Science and Religion : Revelation : The Personality and Character of Christ : The Resurrection of Christ.

Course IV. Our Lord's Teaching : The Manner and Method of His Teaching : The Great Subject—the Kingdom of God : The Basis of His Teaching—The Father—and His Teaching about Himself : His Teaching about Man, about Righteousness, and about His own Death : His Teaching about the Holy Spirit, the Church, and the End of the World.

There is no class or tutorial work in the ordinary sense, but of course there is a certain amount of opportunity for questions at each lecture, which is attended by the whole school. The first course was given by one lecturer : of the second, the first three lectures were given by one lecturer and the remaining two by another : in the third series every lecture was given by a different lecturer : and in the fourth two lecturers took alternate lectures.[1]

[1] When the Secretary of the Free Church Council, who was also Director of the School, left the city in 1921 there was difficulty in finding a successor, and the School lapsed. In 1923 it was restarted with a course of six lectures on "Outlines of Biblical Study," and the hope of others to follow.

(V)

The Vacation Term for Biblical Study has already been described, and reference has been made to the lending library connected with it. The Librarian has, on her own initiative and responsibility, carried on during the last five years a very valuable piece of work in the form of the Saturday Greek New Testament Classes. She holds the Archbishop's Licence to Teach Theology and has herself worked at King's College, London, where the classes are held by permission of the Dean. During the War she found, while acting temporarily as a member of the College staff and dealing with women who take the full course in the Theological Faculty, that something of this sort would be welcome for " temporary students, women teachers, church-workers, etc.," and promptly organised three Saturday morning courses giving "opportunities to teachers, to religious workers, missionaries on furlough, and others wishing to study on an academic level, but not able to attend the regular courses." No registration or class fee is required, but contributions, if desired, may be made to the Building Fund of the Chapel in the Hostel for Theological Students.

A typical term's programme is as follows :

10.15. Beginners may have preparatory instruction.
10.45. Course A : St. Luke ix. 51-xv. 32, to be followed by Philippians. Translation, grammar, correction of written work, etc.
11.45. Course B : The Gospel of St. John, Text and Theology.

In previous years there have been courses of three terms in the Epistle to the Romans, three in the Epistle to the Hebrews, courses in Ephesians and Colossians, Philippians, St. Mark's Gospel, St. Luke's Gospel, etc.

Miss Blackburne writes :

" The students are (*a*) engaged in teaching—a classical mistress at an independent school, a head teacher at an elementary school, several assistant mistresses, etc. : (*b*) religious workers—one Anglican sister, a novice, two or three deaconesses, and less professional workers : (*c*) others on the way to the Archbishop's Diploma. I hold the classes

by permission of the Dean, and with the unofficial knowledge of the Board. The standard is elastic as to time, as my students are all very busy, but I give them, according to possibilities, the best work I can. The students who attend have never numbered more than 23, and on a busy day in summer may have been about six."

Miss Blackburne is also willing to give help in Old Testament studies—" working with as much exactness on religious subjects as on any others."

Possibly there are other theological tutors who carry on similar work—certainly there are clergy, ministers, and schoolmasters who render voluntary help of this kind to individuals or small groups in their own studies. But these experiments show what possibilities exist and what response would be forthcoming if some attempt were made to provide facilities on a larger scale.

SECTION 5

THE Y.M.C.A. AND Y.W.C.A.

(I)

From the days when George Williams got a kind of literary and debating society going alongside his prayer-meeting, mental enrichment and growth has always been an essential part of the fourfold programme (physical, social, intellectual, and spiritual) put forward by the Y.M.C.A. In the days before University Extension, Polytechnics, and Local Education Authority evening classes, it provided a great deal by way of miscellaneous lectures (like the famous series at Exeter Hall) and technical training for such careers as the junior Civil Service, Banking, and so forth. The normal activities of the ordinary Association encouraged reading, discussion, and the pursuit of scientific hobbies. In later years the extension of Association work all over the world led to the development of a highly-organised educational service, especially in the United States (where it was predominantly technical and physical), in the Far East (where it was more general), and in India (where the provision for Indian university students was as great a part of its function as that for young Europeans resident in India, though now an equally important educational activity is found in the village community work so brilliantly organised by Mr. K. T. Paul). In England, during the two decades before the War, the larger Associations in many cases made a special feature of vocational classes for young business men. An outstanding illustration is supplied by the George Williams College, which occupied a whole floor of the great London Central building in Tottenham Court Road. Frequently

these classes were conducted in co-operation with the Local Education Authority. Nothing of corresponding seriousness and continuity was done in the sphere of non-vocational education, but most Associations had their literary and debating societies, choral societies, or hobby clubs: many had series of popular miscellaneous lectures: the big city Associations often had series of popular lectures which were the most notable in the neighbourhood, though they were still miscellaneous and more recreational than educational.

The Association had its supreme educational opportunity presented to it during the War, when, in co-operation with the Army authorities, for which it was asked to act as official agent, it organised lectures by university teachers and others of similar standing first to the troops on the lines of communication in France and then right up the line, the success of this work leading to the development of a complete system of education—classes, lectures, libraries—for the troops in the Base Camps. Directors (first Sir Henry Hadow and then Sir Graham Balfour), sub-directors, and hundreds of qualified men and women teachers were sent out to France by the Y.M.C.A., which had secured the aid of all the British Universities and the chief voluntary organisations by the constitution of a Y.M.C.A. Universities Committee, directly representative of all these bodies, and responsible for the Y.M.C.A. educational policy and its execution. This committee, under the chairmanship of the Rev. D. H. S. Cranage, Litt.D., Secretary of the University of Cambridge Local Lectures Syndicate, was speedily asked by the Army Authorities in Malta and Salonica (whither Prof. J. J. Findlay went as Director), Egypt and Palestine,[1] to furnish similar educational aid in those areas. Work was done for interned prisoners of war in Holland. At home there was no general scheme of co-operation between the authorities at the Horseguards and the Y.M.C.A. Universities Committee, but a great deal was effected in the

[1] The scheme for Egypt and Palestine was altered before the first group of teachers sent by the Y.M.C.A. arrived, but effective use was made of the services of several of them.

various commands by request of the responsible officers and under the direction of Dr. Alex. Hill. Special efforts were also made for munition workers (by co-operation with the firms and the Ministry of Munitions). A very extensive library service, under the direction of a sub-committee of which H.H. Princess Helena Victoria was chairman, and a special development of musical education under a sub-committee of which the late Sir John Maclure was chairman and Mr. Percy Scholes secretary, were notable features of the work.

Though it was not possible for the Y.M.C.A. after the War to carry on a scheme of adult education through ordinary Associations and Red Triangle Clubs in England on a scale as great as that of its educational work among the troops during the period of hostilities, it has not lost the impetus given it by its War work. It has a strong educational department at Headquarters with a Committee of representative educationists, a full-time Secretary, and three Divisional Educational Secretaries. Its policy is to develop as fully as possible the educational programme in selected areas and centres, thus bringing the possibilities before the Movement as a whole, and winning the financial and other support that would enable it to foster similar developments in all its centres throughout the country. Inasmuch as the programme of any given Club or Association must ultimately be a matter of local initiative, there are, of course, wide variations in the degree of importance attached to education by the different local general secretaries and committees. Obviously conditions are much more favourable in some centres than in others. For example, some city Associations are used mainly by clerks and young business men in the middle of the day, when very little in the way of educational activities could be attempted. On the other hand, in small towns in the country districts local educational resources are very limited, and often the nature of the occupations followed by those who use the Clubs and Associations causes recreation to be more in demand than education.

A recent divisional report from the North of England

observes that the young fellows who frequent the Y.M.C.A. are mostly between 18 and 22 years of age. Many of them are taking evening classes, usually in technical subjects, provided by the L.E.A. If they are not doing so, the Y.M.C.A.'s are seeking " to stimulate an interest in vocational classes by establishing Preparatory Classes designed to revive knowledge of School subjects." But the report goes on to say that :

" The counter-attractions which exist within our Associations must also be regarded as a hindrance to the successful working of educational activities. Social functions, whist drives, dances, and the provision of well-equipped billiard rooms (with teams and league matches) appear in some cases to dominate the programme. The athletic programme also is well arranged, and a man's time can be very easily monopolised by these social and athletic activities. This applies particularly to the men who have only a limited amount of time to devote to the Association."

There is no doubt, however, that the Movement as a whole is more definitely educational in its outlook and method than it has been at any period of its development in this country. To quote an official statement supplied by the Y.M.C.A. Education Department to the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education : [1]

" It may safely be said that in more than half of the 900 centres in England and Wales the main purpose underlying the whole of the activities in operation is the development of Christian citizenship, having as its basis intelligent knowledge and expressing itself in organised service."

The War work of the Association brought a large number

[1] The Committee undertook a general survey of adult education in England, chiefly with regard to the range of subjects studied, and its Secretary prepared a tabular statement of the results, which unfortunately the Government was unable, on the ground of expense, to publish, but copies of which were supplied in typescript to the Organisations represented on the Committee. The Survey covered Y.M.C.A., Adult School, and Educational Settlement work, but not that of other movements dealt with in this part of our present study. Except where definitely attributed to that Survey, the information utilised in this and succeeding chapters is drawn from other sources.

of university teachers into contact with a type of man whom they do not ordinarily meet. Their readiness to take up, under those special conditions, a considerable amount of work below what is generally called university standard afforded them an opportunity of realising the importance and possibilities of this preliminary kind of study. They were awakened to the fact that the universities ought to be concerned with education of this kind. The result has been a much greater readiness on the part of members of the university and college staffs, Local Education Authorities and others to help in the sort of work that the Y.M.C.A. is doing, work which, though not for the most part reaching the standard of the university tutorial class or even of the one-year class, represents a great amount of very genuine effort on the part of men who have a keen desire to live in a larger world.

In the year 1920-21,[1] three one-year classes were arranged, one in Economics and Industrial History and two in Local History. There were 79 short courses :—English History 4, Eastern Studies 1, English History 7, Local History 1, Economics and Industrial History 36, Sociology 2, Philosophy 2, Psychology 8, Education 1, Natural Science 2, Art and Archaeology 5, Choral Music 4, Elocution and Drama 1, Handicraft 1, Hygiene and Health 1. In the same year there were 34 lecture classes :—English Literature 2, Modern Languages 7, Economics and Industrial History 4, Sociology 4, Art and Archaeology 2, Music 6, Handicraft 5, Hygiene and Health 4. Together with these there were 23 study and discussion groups :—English Literature 3, English History 1, Local History 8, Bible Study 2, Psychology 4, Elocution and Drama 4, Handicraft 1.

During this year more than 1500 single popular lectures were given on miscellaneous subjects : 36 musical lectures were given, with piano and gramophone illustrations, and resulted in the appointment of 10 local Musical Directors :

[1] *N.B.*—These figures include the statistics for Y.M.C.A. work in South Wales, where there are now over 130 lecture centres organised by the Y.M.C.A.

some 150 informal lounge talks were given on miscellaneous subjects: societies of an educational character were organised, and these included "Chamber of Commerce" 1, Choral Societies 22, Mock Parliaments 4, Orchestral Societies 10, Photographic Societies 17, Rambling Societies 7, Wireless Societies 1: Folk Dancing has been promoted and over 100 Folk Dancing demonstrations and classes were held. The Y.M.C.A. co-operated with the National Adult School Union and the League of Nations Union in the arrangement of correspondence courses, particulars of which are given in a later part of this Section, and over 100 Y.M.C.A. students completed these courses in various subjects. Library work has remained an important factor in the educational activities of the Association, and over 250 carefully prepared nucleus libraries were selected and forwarded to local centres: musical, dramatic, and gramophone record circulating libraries were organised at headquarters. It should be noticed that this summary [1] includes the work in South Wales, which, both in extent and in quality, is especially remarkable.[2]

A general statement of this kind covers very far-reaching and interesting pieces of work in particular centres: thus, for example, the Y.M.C.A. Divisional Educational Secretary for the North of England was able, during the winter of 1920-21, to secure the assistance of members of the staff of the Armstrong University College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in providing lectures at the Red Triangle Clubs in the mining villages of Northumberland and Durham. Each professor undertook to give courses of four consecutive weekly lectures in his own subject. The Clubs were offered a choice, and it is interesting to observe that Crafts of the Home ((*a*)Crafts of the Book, (*b*) Wood-work, Carving, Inlaying, (*c*) Metal work and Jewellery, (*d*) Weaving, Embroidery, and Tapestry) proved the most popular. Other subjects in demand were Vocal Music, Local History, Great Violinists and their Music, and The Geology of our District.

[1] Condensed from an official statement made to the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education.

[2] See pp. 363 f. *infra*.

In Oxfordshire an important experiment has been made with regard to rural work. The Divisional Secretary was himself formerly a student in the North Staffordshire Miners' Higher Education Movement and is able to lecture as well as to organise. In the course of one winter he arranged in remote and otherwise neglected villages in Oxfordshire courses of 6, 10 or 12 lectures given by himself or by members of the University of Oxford.

In 1921-22 there were in all 19 classes each comprising from six to twelve lectures followed by discussion, and 2 comprising three lectures followed by discussion. Four villages each had two courses. The subjects were History of Engineering, Economic History, Shakespeare (2), History of Exploration (2), European History, Citizenship (3), Literature (2), The British Constitution (2), History of Oxfordshire (2), Economic Problems (2), How we are Governed, and one series on miscellaneous subjects. There were in addition a large number of single public lectures. The Divisional Educational Secretary says in his report :

" It has been necessary in a number of cases, when longer courses of lectures would have been welcomed, to provide short courses in order that limited transport might keep pace with geographical developments. . . .

" The Council has again been fortunate in obtaining the services of many extremely capable lecturers without fee. It is acknowledged by everyone who knows the area that it is impossible for the villagers to pay anything which would make any appreciable difference to the financial position, and the lecturers, realising this, do not press for the remuneration to which they are justly entitled. As the organisation grows, however, it is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain lecturers who can afford to undertake a series of engagements at regular intervals without tangible recognition. This is a problem for the near future." [1]

[1] It is satisfactory to learn that the Oxfordshire County Council has for two successive years made a small block grant of £50 to the general cost of this educational work in view of its value to the community. It is to be hoped not only that this grant will be increased, but that so good an example will be followed by Local Education Authorities in other areas. Cf. p. 358 *infra.*

"Twenty-eight educational centres are now in existence, for which 150 lectures will be provided. Seventeen well-qualified lecturers from Oxford City have given their services. The average attendance at classes over the area is 25, and the attendance at public lectures is estimated at 50 per lecture. When it is remembered that some of the villages in which we are engaged have a population of not more than 300, the value of the work to that small community and the measure of interest shown in it will not be questioned."

A report furnished in November 1922 states that for the new session an equally satisfactory list of classes had been arranged. Subjects additional to those above mentioned are "How Industry and Commerce grew in England" (two classes), "Early Mediæval History, with especial reference to Oxfordshire" (two classes), "Political Thought and Thinkers, chiefly of the Nineteenth Century," "Political Thought from Plato to Herbert Spencer," and "Outlines of Rural Development." It is also noted that one class, now in its third year, is being recognised by the Buckinghamshire County Education Committee: the subjects are "Mediæval History" and "Political Thought and Thinkers of the Nineteenth Century": the amount of the grant expected will cover the lecturers' fees, transport, and such deficit in local expenses as may arise.[1]

Co-operation with the recreational side of the Y.M.C.A. rural work in this area is complete, and the difficulties of transport are in this way, to a great extent, overcome. One can accomplish marvels in the way of taking concert parties, amateur dramatic companies, portable cinemas and books for libraries, as well as teachers and lecturers, to the villages. This work has now grown by co-operation with the Village Clubs Association, The Workers' Educational Association, and Barnett House, Oxford, into one of the most complete and successful pieces of rural community

[1] The fifth annual report of the educational work in this Division, covering the year 1923-24, and supplemented by an interim report, records the opening of several new centres and the recognition by the Local Education Authorities, for purposes of grant aid, of four classes, three of which took courses of fourteen lectures and one of sixteen.

organisation in the country, the first of the Rural Community Councils, based on co-operation between the County Council and the voluntary organisations, to which the Carnegie Trustees are giving such generous support.

The Divisional Educational Secretary for Lancashire and Cheshire reported for the Session 1920-21 a total number of meetings of an educational character amounting to 1169, with an average weekly attendance of 5035. In a report presented in March 1922, he shows how steady effort in the face of the many difficulties attached to educational work in the industrial towns in that area results not only in more extensive, but also in more intensive, activities. He says there has been a decrease in the number of popular lectures. This is the result of an attempt to substitute for such miscellaneous series the short course of lectures, consisting of 8, 6, 4, or 3 lectures dealing with a particular subject. Such courses have greatly increased in number, and 80 per cent. have been given by university graduates, so that a high standard of work has been maintained. These courses have been named Lecture-classes, and in each case they have consisted of one hour's lecture followed by one hour's discussion. In 1920-21 there were 8 series of lectures and 50 lecture-classes. In 1921-22 there were 28 series of lectures and 115 lecture-classes.

One Y.M.C.A. has formed a One-Year W.E.A. Class on Psychology, at the request of the members after a series of informal lectures on this subject held in the session 1920-21. One half of the members of the class are members of the Y.M.C.A.

Ten weekly classes have been formed (each with an average attendance of 20) in such subjects as French, Motor Engineering, First Aid, Painting and Design, Wireless Telegraphy, Embroidery, and Cookery.

Voluntary lecturers have been obtained as follows :— Manchester University 10, W.E.A. 1, Lancashire County Council 3, Manchester City Art Gallery 2, Economic Study Club 28, Manchester School of Art 5, Liverpool University 3, Industrial League 12—a total of 64. In addition 9 voluntary

women lecturers have rendered service, and 11 paid university lecturers have been engaged from Manchester University (University Extension Pioneer Courses 6, Single Lecture 1) and Liverpool University (Single Lectures 4).

The Hon. Educational Secretary for the Western Division reports that for the session 1922-23 over eighty lectures of a popular educational character have been arranged in eighteen centres, and that one particularly interesting feature is a piece of non-institutional work being done among the miners of the Forest of Dean.

He also has a note on Co-operative Effort, pointing out that the Y.M.C.A. is in one instance assisting the Higher Education Committee for a second year in the provision of lectures and in two others the L.E.A. is arranging special one-year courses in English Literature, while joint classes have been organised with the W.E.A. in Psychology, Economic History and Somersetshire Flora and Fauna, and also a one-year joint class in Psychology.

Mention is also made in this Western Division report of Fireside Talks, Study Circles, Literary and Debating Societies, Wireless Clubs, Dramatic Societies, and Handicraft Classes.

A glance at a number of local Association programmes for the winter 1922-23 shows some interesting individual items of educational work.

Thus, under the heading of Religious Work, the London Central Y.M.C.A. has a regular weekly series of lectures, in short courses of four, dealing in a popular way with Biblical, Theological and Philosophic questions. Each course is given by some such well-equipped lecturer as Principal Garvie, Professor G. Currie Martin, or some Anglican or Free Church minister. In the winter before he went as minister to the City Temple, Dr. Norwood delivered two remarkable courses of weekly lectures at the London Central Y.M.C.A., each of which covered a period of three months. The first was miscellaneous, but dealt with Public and International Questions in relation to Christianity. The second dealt with the main aspects of Christian belief

and conduct. Each drew several hundred men, who followed the lectures regularly, and on each evening, after an hour's lecture, there was another hour of close questions and discussion. The Plaistow Y.M.C.A. has a "Round-Table" on Sunday afternoons, which seeks to study and discuss Bible questions of the day, and to attain an understanding of the Kingdom of God in the terms of everyday life. It meets in study groups, of which that for the men is on "Religion and Social Life." Stamford Hill has a weekly series of Fireside Talks dealing with Problems of the Modern Mind, and these include monthly presentations, by the various Missionary Societies, of the problems connected with "World Evangelisation," as well as a series of addresses on "Young Men and the Claims of Public Worship." The Radcliffe Association meets weekly for discussion of "Spiritual Problems," *e.g.* Christ and the Churches, Labour, Riches, Health, etc.

On the other side of education, Plaistow has a double University Extension course on "Shakespeare and his England," conferences on Local Government, choral and orchestral classes studying "Hiawatha" for production later, and weaving classes. It also has commercial classes and one for matriculation students. The Bradford Association has lounge discussions dealing with civic questions, and introduced by heads of local municipal departments, while it also has a series of lectures on Economics. The Newcastle-on-Tyne Association caters particularly for young business men, and carries on both a Junior City Council and a Junior Chamber of Commerce: but on the purely cultural side it has a course in Vocal Music and Elocution, classes in French and Spanish, a Choral Society and an Art Club. The Harrogate programme includes six lounge talks by town officials on "Our Town Affairs": six lectures on "The Place of Yorkshire in Art, Music, Sport, Folk-lore, Commerce, and Literature," and three lectures on "Music in the Home: How to Study, Practise, Perform." It has groups dealing with problems of business life, and a Dramatic Society called the "Belvedere Community Players," with their little

theatre. At Walthamstow the Association co-operates with the Industrial Christian Fellowship in a fortnightly study circle on Mr. R. H. Tawney's book *The Acquisitive Society*. It also co-operates with the League of Nations Union in a study circle on "The Covenant of the League of Nations," which is also fortnightly, the two circles meeting alternately.

"Fireside Talks" were devised by the Y.M.C.A. Metropolitan Education Department and have become very popular, not only inside the Y.M.C.A., but in other movements which have to cater for people who as yet have very little interest in educational pursuits and are not very ready to join study circles or discussion groups. The Y.M.C.A. in 1921 published a small booklet of suggested topics and is able to furnish the person who wishes to conduct Fireside Talks with brief notes on each of these. The idea is to lead a very informal group from ordinary casual conversation to some discussion of a definite subject, but without the apparatus of text-books, syllabus, lecturette or introductory paper. From a number of such talks the next step is to recruit a study circle which will spend a definite series of weekly meetings upon systematic discussion of one of the topics in which interest has been aroused, and about which a desire for further information has been stimulated in the course of a Fireside Talk. The work is obviously elementary, but its importance lies in the fact that for one adult who will join a formal group or class there are a dozen who at first will not go beyond an hour's conversation. The need for some such method as that of the Fireside Talks, and the response made to the experiment, are evinced by the hundreds of communications that have been received at Y.M.C.A. Headquarters asking for the booklet and for notes. In the London area alone some 20 Y.M.C.A.'s inaugurated Fireside Talks as a regular feature of their programme in 1920-21, and by the end of 1922 nearly 200 local groups had been formed in various parts of the country, notes for leaders being sent regularly to each group.

A useful suggestion with regard to the provision of lecturers emanates from the London Central Y.M.C.A. Its Guild of

Service arranged for series of six or eight connected lectures on a given subject (*e.g.* The British Empire) to be given by a group of lecturers each responsible for one of the lectures, but all working in concert in the preparation of the series. The series was then offered to Y.M.C.A.'s and other institutions in the area. By arrangement with the London Missionary Society a similar panel of lecturers for a series on missionary subjects was instituted. In all some twelve panels were constituted, the subjects of the various series including Industrial Welfare, Art, Natural History, and Biography.

Unfortunately, one of the most striking pieces of post-war educational work carried on by the Y.M.C.A. falls outside the scope of this enquiry, since it has been carried out in Wales.[1] It may perhaps suffice to say that in the winter of 1922 over 130 educational centres were established by the Y.M.C.A. in South Wales, chiefly among the mining villages. When the scheme was initiated some three years before, a beginning was made with a series of 6, 8, or 10 miscellaneous lectures at each of the 30 or 40 centres then established. There are now, however, as a result, a very considerable number of lecture classes; in each a course of 10, 12, or 14 lectures on one subject is given and each lecture is followed by an hour's discussion.[2] In many villages where there is no other form of adult education, and where there is no Y.M.C.A., the work is carried through

[1] But see pp. 354 ff. *supra.*

[2] A report of this work given in 1922 includes details of two three-year University tutorial classes, and three pioneer classes, with sixteen lecture-classes. The subjects taken are Welsh History, Welsh Literature, Philosophy, Psychology, Sociology, Psycho-analysis and Industrial History. The report for 1924 records four University tutorial classes and three pioneer classes, nine correspondence circles, and a general increase in the other types of work. One particularly interesting note on popular lecture courses says: "The subjects taken at lectures, in Festiniog particularly, have been incorporated into the programmes of the local Church Guilds. The popular lecture was regarded as an opportunity for Community Meetings of Guilds, and, the week following, the lecture was made the basis of discussion in each Guild."

by a local Y.M.C.A. Education Committee appointed in the first instance by the Churches. The whole scheme pays for itself, the one overhead charge being the salary of the Organising Secretary and his office expenses, which are borne by the Welsh National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s. Practically all the lecturers are paid, and receive their travelling expenses, hospitality being found by the centre to which they go. One particularly interesting aspect of the work is that a considerable number of the Miners' Institutes, which are supported and controlled by miners themselves through the weekly levy on their wages and a committee which they appoint, have put the organisation of their educational work into the hands of the Y.M.C.A.

Provision for the further education of Y.M.C.A. secretaries is a matter to which the Headquarters Education Department is giving special attention. Group-study on the part of secretaries within a small area, and short courses of lectures given by the National Educational Secretary and followed by discussion, are the chief forms that this has taken thus far, the subjects being psychological, industrial, and economic problems in relation to Christianity. In one very large London Association the whole staff forms a lecture class one morning each week, which is conducted by the National Educational Secretary.

(II)

During the War, the Y.W.C.A. carried on a certain amount of educational work among munition girls and, by co-operation with the Y.M.C.A. Universities Committee, among the W.A.A.C.'s in France. The financial difficulties which affected most voluntary organisations after the War necessitated the closing down of the Y.W.C.A. headquarters education department, and the present position has been thus stated :

" The Association considers that the chief need in educational work among industrial girls and young women, restricted as it must be to the evening hours, after days of hard work, is a fairly wide variety of subjects dealt with in single lectures or talks or any other less formal ways. It

is impossible to furnish accurate and tabulated returns of this kind of work, but it can be stated that work of this kind forms part of the programme of all complete Y.W.C.A. activities. The subjects dealt with most frequently in this way are Sociology, Bible Study, Music, Elocution and Drama, Handicraft, Hygiene and Health, Folk Dancing and Physical Exercises."

Statistics taken from the returns received at headquarters in 1921 give only an approximate idea of what is being done. Taking the South of England Division as typical, however, these reports show the existence, at various centres, of Singing Classes (16): Gymnasium and Drill Classes (14): Handicraft and Needlework Classes (14): Country Dancing and Dancing Classes (10): First Aid and Home Nursing Classes (9): Shakespeare Classes (4): Dramatic Classes (4): Special organised Games (4): Rhythmic Dancing Classes (2): Elocution Classes (2): Cookery Classes (1): and one class in each of the following: Astronomy, Violin, Piano, Temperance, Cobbling, Gardening, Swimming Instruction and Rowing Instruction. In addition the centres have various debates, lectures on current topics, lectures on industrial questions, and so forth.

The Association has recently developed an interesting piece of work in the form of study courses arranged in different parts of the country. These are intended for Secretaries, Committee members, Volunteer workers, and others interested in Social and Religious Movements. A programme for a local centre says that a whole day of lectures and discussions is arranged once a month, six of these days constituting a course. On each of the days, the first lecture deals with "The Bible and how to Teach it," while the second deals with Psychology and problems in the minds of girls among whom the Association works. Each of the lectures is followed by discussion. In the afternoon there is a lecture on the history, organisation, and practical work of the Association, with a conference and discussion on the afternoon lecture after tea.

The National General Secretary says of these study courses:

"The kind of people we hope will attend these Study

Days are in the main our own secretaries, club-leaders, and committee members, though we are very glad to welcome visitors as well.

"I think the reason why our own people will attend these lectures is that they are waking up more and more to the fact that the kind of work we ought to do is skilled, and touches the life of young women at all points. There is increasing desire among them to know the conditions of women's lives industrially and otherwise, which we feel to be very hopeful. A few years back there was very little evidence of anything of this kind, and we want to do all we can from Headquarters to meet it."

Two of the most important enterprises initiated by the Y.W.C.A. itself, but now working on independent lines, call for special remark. The first is the Residential College for Working Women at Beckenham : of this a fuller account is given in a later Section. The Y.W.C.A. National Council is represented on the Council of the College, though the organisation has been put upon an independent basis, with a Committee containing representatives of various educational bodies.[1] The other is the Working Women's Library, which was started as a library for munition girls.

"The aim of the library is to work in personal connection with those who find it difficult to get the books they need either for individual reading or for clubs. There are now over 5,000 books in circulation amongst 140 local branches in villages, factories, etc."

A considerable amount of guidance in reading is given, if desired, and the library is of assistance to Sunday School Teachers and Club Leaders, among others. This work also is now upon an independent basis.

[1] See pp. 399 ff. *infra.*

SECTION 6

THE ADULT SCHOOL MOVEMENT

The Adult Schools make it their purpose to unite men and women of all Churches and of no Church for study and fellowship, and, though in point of fact many of their numbers in practice regard the Schools as their equivalent for a Church, the movement steadily refuses to consider itself such, or, indeed, as anything but an auxiliary to the Churches. It now comprises from 1500 to 1800 schools with a membership of some 50,000 to 60,000 men and women and an average weekly attendance of 30,000 to 35,000. To the weekly meeting (for men usually on Sunday morning, for women usually on a week-night, though there are some " mixed " schools which meet later on Sunday or during the week) at which a portion of the time is given to study of the Bible and a portion to a short lecture, sometimes followed by discussion, many schools now add a Sunday evening meeting for fellowship, and many have a programme, varying in range and standard, of educational activities during the week. As in the " fifties," there is hope of a new development in the life of the movement after a period of quiet work in which the growth has been one of quality rather than of numbers. A " Forward Movement " was set on foot in 1920, and a prominent feature of this has been the insistence on a more adequate educational policy and the wider adoption of an " all-the-week " programme, together with the promotion of work among younger adults. The watchword of the movement is " Life and religion are one, or neither is anything," and it has formulated its aims thus :

1. To make and develop men and women and to teach them the art of life.

2. To study the Bible frankly, freely, reverently, and without prejudice.

3. To establish an unsectarian basis for Christian effort and unity.

4. To bring together in helpful comradeship and active service the different classes of society.

5. To stimulate and educate public spirit and public morality.

6. To teach the responsibility of citizenship.

7. To encourage whatever makes for International Brotherhood.

8. To advance as far as may be the equality of opportunity.

9. In short, to help men and women to understand and to live the life of Jesus Christ, and to encourage them in their personal allegiance to Him.

In a statement prepared for presentation to the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education the general work of the Movement has been summarised as follows :

" Returns for the year ending December 31st, 1921, show in England 718 Men's Adult Schools, 528 Women's, and 98 mixed—a total of 1,344. These, with the exception of 5 unaffiliated schools, are grouped into 27 district unions, constituted by representation from individual schools within each. The National Union again is constituted by representation from the district unions. The membership of the schools comprises 26,866 men and 21,758 women, or a total of 48,624, with the noticeably high average weekly attendance of 16,958 men and 13,595 women, or a total of 30,553 adults. In addition there are 139 junior schools, with a membership of 4659 boys and girls, and an average weekly attendance of 3213, but no account is taken of these in the following descriptive statement, which relates wholly to work among adults.

" Starting at the end of the eighteenth century as a movement for the instruction of illiterate men and women in the art of reading and writing, with the Bible as a text-book, the Adult Schools have preserved the aim of education in a spirit of fellowship and an atmosphere of non-credal and unsectarian religion. Each school meets once a week for systematic discussion (*a*) of religious subjects based on the Bible, (*b*) of some topic of literary, scientific, economic, political or other interest. Generally the first-named discussion is based on the *Adult School Lesson Handbook*,

which contains regular courses of study each covering from six to twelve weeks and knit together in a general subject for the year. Frequently a school has, as part of its weekly meetings, a series of short miscellaneous or connected lectures. The standard materially varies . . . but it will be seen that the Movement in this aspect consists of over 1300 study groups of a permanent character (*e.g.* in May 1921 practically the whole of the schools gave four weeks' consideration to the history and possibilities of a League of Nations).

"The tendency now is for the schools to extend their work throughout the week, organising for their members lecture courses, week-end lecture schools, one-year classes, and university tutorial classes, as well as dramatic and musical societies, natural history and rambling clubs, reading circles, and so forth. The schools co-operate with other educational bodies. Over 100 are affiliated to the Workers' Educational Association for certain special work, and the majority of the tutorial classes are organised in conjunction with the Workers' Educational Association, though some are independent and are related directly to the Joint Committees for Tutorial Classes concerned. A number of classes are organised in co-operation with Local Education Authorities, which provide teachers or pay grants. In certain instances the Adult School has developed into an Educational Settlement, as at Lemington-on-Tyne, Beechcroft, and Balham.

"District unions arrange summer schools (mainly for women) at which courses of lectures are given. The National Union appoints representatives on the governing body of Fircroft, and scholarships are provided, either by the National Union or by the district unions, for men members of the Union who wish to take a year there. Since 1918 a Winter School for young women has been conducted by the National Union. Foreign travel is encouraged by means of parties which are given special facilities for enquiring into educational and social conditions in the countries visited. This year (1922), in conjunction with the Educational Settlements Association, the National Union is arranging an Anglo-German Summer School, to be held in Germany.

"To secure complete and accurate details of all the work carried on throughout the country is practically impossible for a movement so large, so diverse, and so utterly dependent upon local autonomy and the voluntary principle. Some districts which are known to have a very considerable

amount of sound educational work in progress make very meagre returns to headquarters. The only thing that can be done, therefore, is to present a statement covering a number of typical districts, selecting for the purpose those that have furnished fairly full information about what they are doing, whether this is much or little, high in standard, or otherwise. The following tabular statement may therefore be taken as giving a fair picture of 60 per cent. of the schools, and it is safe to say that the remainder would tally with it. The activities vary so greatly from district to district that tabulation under a few rigid headings is difficult, and may even tend to be misleading in the direction, now of excess and now of defect. Perhaps it should again be stated that the aim and effect of the whole of the work of the Adult Schools, whatever the varieties of method and standard, is essentially educational."

It will be more illuminating for our purpose to describe certain pieces of work in detail than to quote the tabular statement mentioned above.

Taking first of all the basis of most ordinary Adult School meetings—*The Lesson Handbook*—we find that it is prepared by a group of people specially appointed each year in view of their knowledge of the subjects to be dealt with, their ability as trained educationists, and their experience in the practical work of the schools. They work as a committee, planning out the whole book together and remitting the various sections to individuals or pairs among their own number to be drafted, and subsequently to be revised under the criticism of the whole group. The result is a valuable educational instrument, covering (but thoroughly) a great deal of ground, weaving systematic and consecutive study of the Bible with the study of other subjects, calculated to stimulate leaders and members of schools to do their own thinking rather than merely to read and accept what has been written, and furnished with a rich apparatus of references to authorities and illuminating passages from a great variety of books. The general subject of the scheme of study for 1922 is "Personality and Power." There are five sections: 1. Men and Women—studies in Old and New Testament personalities as types of ordinary human

character. 2. What is Personality? (*a*) Some elements of Personality (the psychological groundwork), (*b*) The Making and Marring of Personality (conduct, environment, education), (*c*) Personality and the Group (studies in group-psychology, including that of international relationships). 3. Browning: a Poet of Personality (based on typical poems). 4. The Divine Personality (the true conception of God, and of man as related to Him). 5. The Spirit of Power (the main elements in Christian life and experience: studies based on the Beatitudes).

In schools that number more than a score or so of members the subject is introduced, and then small classes are formed in which more thorough and intimate discussion is possible. The educational value of this is obvious.

Of course it must be recognised that there are many schools that fall below the ideal, ignoring the *Handbook*, subsisting on miscellaneous religious addresses, or becoming mere discussion clubs for the consideration of current questions from practically a secular point of view. But generally speaking, even the ordinary work of an Adult School has considerable educational value.

The National Council publishes other courses of study intended for separate use over a shorter period of time—outlines on public health, penal reform, citizenship, Browning, Wordsworth, and so forth.[1] One year it incorporated a series of lessons on Non-Christian Religions in the *Handbook*, and another year a series on India, co-operating on each occasion with the United Council for Missionary Education in producing and selling a special text-book. The circulation of the *Lesson Handbook* reaches 23,000 copies annually, and as we have seen, the book is used in Bible Classes, etc. quite outside the movement itself. A recent development in educational literature is the initiation of a series of modern translations of the books of the Old Testament by competent scholars. Several volumes have already appeared, at a price that puts them within the reach of everybody.

[1] It recently issued a valuable little guide to the practice of Regional Survey and an excellent little manual of "Community Playing."

The lectures which form the other part of normal adult school meetings of course vary greatly. Probably the chief criticism of them is that in many schools they are miscellaneous. But even so, the subjects are usually good and it is well worth while that the thought of a group of men or women should be directed to them, though the treatment possible within the thirty or forty minutes available is necessarily inadequate. It is noticeable, however, that the topics most in favour suggest a much more thoughtful constituency than the average Church Literary Society or Guild provides. A glance over a casual set of programmes coming from all parts of the country, from industrial towns and country districts, from large schools and small, suffices to indicate this.[1]

Lecture Courses, as part of the meeting of the School, or on some other occasion during the week, are growing in number. They vary from series of three or four to weekly series extending over three months. Here again the range of subjects is very wide.[2]

Under the heading of Terminal Classes (*i.e.* classes lasting

[1] The following are the subjects of miscellaneous lectures : Modern Politics, The League of Nations, Cromwell, The French Revolution, Power, Nationality, France of To-day, Guild Socialism, The Rent Act, Public Health, Russia, Economics and Christianity, Literature and Life, Japan, Mysticism, Housing, The Individual and the State, China and its People, The Construction of the Bible, India, Land Problems, Buddha, Internationalism, Mendelssohn, The Child and the State, The Sermon on the Mount, Unemployment, Organised Labour and Organised Christianity, The Growth of the Idea of God.

[2] Taking examples from District Union records as they come, we find The Education Act, Psychology, How our Town is Governed, Old Testament History, The League of Nations, The Search for Truth, How Truth is Found, Industrial History, Nationality and Nationalism, Progress and Poverty, Beauty, Robert Browning, Indian Customs and Religions, New Life under the Leadership of Christ, Russia, Mind and Life, Local Government, The Whitley Report, Modern Biblical Research, Lessons from Ancient Greece, America, The History of Parliament, Modern Novelists, Economics, Liberalism, Socialism, The Aims of Labour, Industrial Ideals, The Peoples of India, Poets and Social Ideals, London in History, Work of the London County Council, Palestine, Child Welfare, Trade

for three, six or twelve months) there are some interesting items. Thus one Sub-Union—a rural one—reports only one, but the subject is French Devotional Literature : another records classes in Music and Art : a third mentions one class in Political Principles : another classes in Music, Esperanto, Public Speaking, and Problems of Reconstruction : one has classes in Economics and Literature : four have classes in French : one reports classes in Economics and Citizenship, and one a class in Shakespeare's Plays : three have classes in Esperanto : one has classes in English Economic History, French, and the History of Religion : one has a class in Mathematics and Drawing, and one a class in Literature. A score of sub-unions do not mention classes of this kind.

Week-end lecture schools are numerous. The National Union has a full-time lecturer who devotes himself specially to this work, with a panel of four or five others on whom it can call as required. The usual arrangement is that a school or group of schools arranges for four lectures on a given subject to be delivered during a Saturday and Sunday. This is often as a climax to the work of a study group, or perhaps as a start. The demand for the services of the staff-lecturers is very great, and many schools or unions in addition arrange for week-ends to be conducted by local qualified people.[1] It is estimated that an aggregate annual attendance of 20,000 is recorded at these week-end lecture schools.

Unions, Industrial Wealth, The Place of Religion in Society, Poets of the Democracy, Milton, Dickens, The New Psychology, *The Ring and the Book*, Modern Interpretation of Christianity, Nature Study, The French Revolution, Industrial Guilds, Plato's *Republic*, Great Religions, An Introduction to Philosophy, Rural Problems, Poets and Poetry, The Realm of Nature, European Literature, Life and Liberty, Citizenship, Nineteenth Century Literature, Freedom, English Social Life, Women in Industry.

[1] In the returns available the Unions report 1 (on Psychology and Teaching) ; 3 (Labour Problems, Philosophical Basis of Training, Adult School Work) ; 3 (Internationalism, India, Psychology) ; 1 (Psychology) ; 6 (History, Science, Economics, Literature, Poets, Internationalism) ; 1 (Literature and Life) ; 3 (Carlyle and His Message, *Sartor Resartus*, Dante) ; 1 (Public Organisation of Industry) ; 1 (Internationalism) ; 3 (Mind and Life, The Philosophy

Of twelve districts mentioned in the tabular statement submitted to the Board of Education Adult Education Committee, seven state that they co-operate with the W.E.A., some referring to one-year classes and two specifically to university tutorial classes. Another district, not included among these twelve, co-operates very closely with the Extra-mural Department of the Nottingham University College, the Director of which states that two university tutorial classes (in Psychology and Literature respectively), and a one-year class (in " The Art of Self-Expression ") have been organised in conjunction with the Adult School Movement, and reports that the Psychology class is in its second year and is keeping up well, while the Literature class follows a Preparatory class started last year (1921). He makes a particularly interesting comment on the one-year class :

" We had been trying for three years to get something going in this rather difficult mining centre, but our efforts met with no success until I got into touch with the Women's Adult School. We now have a very flourishing class there, largely composed of women. There seem to be great possibilities in that direction." [1]

The particular interest of this quotation lies in the fact that the Adult Schools have arranged one-year and tutorial classes direct with the University Joint Committee concerned. Mr. Albert Mansbridge, during his tenure of office as secretary of the W.E.A., encouraged this kind of arrangement where circumstances made it more convenient and advisable than reliance upon or co-operation with the W.E.A.

of Politics, and The League of Nations) ; 3 (Ideal States, Unemployment, The Sermon on the Mount) ; 1 (The Organisation of Industry) ; 6 (Internationalism, The Industrial Outlook, Dante, Religious History, Internationalism, Public Organisation of Industry) ; 3 (Problems of Peace and War, India, Adult Education) ; 1 (League of Nations) ; 2 (League of Nations and Literature) ; 2 (Towards a Commonwealth, Days of Small Things) ; 3 (Mazzini, Modern Political Thought, Luke and His Gospel) ; 1 (Nature Study) ; 1 (Adult Education) ; 1 (League of Nations) ; 1 (Christianity and Present-day Problems).

[1] Cf. p. 431 *infra.*

for the organisation of such classes, but there are no available statistics to show how many classes were actually organised by the Adult Schools in this way. Generally speaking, co-operation with the W.E.A. and other bodies is desirable, and further reference to the co-operation between Adult Schools and W.E.A. will be found in a subsequent Section on co-operation.[1]

The Summer Schools are chiefly for women, since it is found difficult for men to get away for a week or a fortnight in the summer time. They last, as a rule, for either a week or a fortnight and the programme is a light one, two or three lectures being given each day and the rest of the time being spent in rambles and excursions. The main subjects of the lectures are Literature, Drama, Art, Music, Nature Study, Psychology, Citizenship, Local Government, and the Bible. Handicrafts are often taught also. There were some seventeen such schools during 1922, and one of a more advanced character held at Fircroft. The great value of the work can hardly be understood unless it is fully appreciated that many of the women who attend the Summer Schools have had very little education at all. This being the case such a week is often to the students the opening of a door into a new world, and their eagerness to enter is remarkable. Evidence of a very remarkable character was contained in a memorandum presented by Miss Gladys Harrison, B.A., Secretary of the Women's Committee of the National Adult School Union, and Miss Effie Ryle, M.A., Staff-lecturer and Warden of the Union's Winter Schools for Working Girls, to the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education. This showed that among other results the power of appreciation of the beautiful, delight in good literature, and enjoyment in making observations of wild life and nature can be developed in women coming from poor surroundings and much hampered by lack of intellectual training. Thought, self-expression, and the power to consider the opinions of others can be elicited. Self-interest as a motive can be replaced by social feeling, and this issues

[1] See pp. 424 ff. *infra.*

in a marked interest in local government, national affairs and international questions. Method is acquired. A desire that the younger generation should have what these women have now come to value so greatly, and a willingness to make sacrifices in order that the younger ones may obtain education, is another outcome.[1]

One particularly notable Summer School has been for the last few years an annual event at Woodbrooke.[2] It is arranged by Mr. F. S. Marvin and Mr. Edwin Gilbert, and the programme follows the lines of the well-known series of volumes on Progress in History which Mr. Marvin has edited. These books are in fact collections of the lectures given at the successive Summer Schools held in this way at Woodbrooke. This has grown out of Adult School lecture work in which Mr. Marvin participated, and is now very largely a school for teachers and leaders in political and social work and thought.

The Adult School Guest Houses are used for Summer Schools and Week-end Schools as well as for their normal purpose of receiving members of Adult Schools and other friends for short holiday visits. Almost invariably the holiday is combined with a daily lecture. There are six such Guest Houses permanently open, the largest being at Cober Hill, on the Yorkshire coast. Cober Hill, during the winter, becomes a School of Handicraft, to which Adult School members may go for a short period, returning to act as teachers in their own local schools. In one town alone 150 girls are now attending handicraft classes taught by teachers trained in special classes of this kind. Other Guest Houses are opened for the summer. Each is maintained and controlled by the Union within which it is situated. Some 6000 people visited these Guest Houses in 1921.

For some years a Group Correspondence Course Scheme has been in existence. It was originally intended to help

[1] See *Report on the Development of Education for Women*, presented (1922) by the Board of Education Adult Education Committee, though this contains only excerpts from the memorandum.

[2] In 1923 the School was held at Vienna; in 1925 it is to be at Bournemouth.

those who were backward in elementary English subjects, but has developed a remarkable range of work until now, under a scheme in which the Y.M.C.A. and the League of Nations Union co-operate with the N.A.S.U., it offers some nineteen courses, each lasting for ten weeks.[1] The purpose is not to provide for individual students, but for groups, who communicate with the tutor through their leaders, receiving notes on the text-book, suggestions for discussion, and themes and questions for paper work. A report of each meeting is furnished to the tutor by the leader, and to him are returned comments, answers to questions on points of difficulty, etc. Each student also is encouraged in turn to submit paper work to the tutor. In 1921-22 some 160 men and women participated.

Adult Schools have always been interested in questions of an international character. The lists of subjects given above show how that interest is sustained. But a living quality is imparted to it by international correspondence and visitation. Started some three years ago, the Adult School International Correspondence Bureau has established a regular interchange of letters between some 1400 correspondents, representing twelve or thirteen countries, and a like number of English people. The intervisitation scheme, which had made a substantial beginning before the War,

[1] The Syllabus of subjects for 1924 and 1925 comprises : *Literature :* 1. Introductory Study of the English Language. 2. Introduction to the Study of English Literature. 3. Speech-Efficiency. 4. A Study of Short Stories. *Religion :* 1. The Modern Approach to the Bible. (*a*) The Old Testament. (*b*) The New Testament. 2. Christianity through the Centuries. *Psychology :* 1. The Management of the Mind (Elementary Course). 2. The Foundation of Character (Intermediate Course). *Philosophy :* 1. Greek Thought : A Study of Socrates and Plato. *History :* 1. The Living Past : A Study in European Civilisation. 2. Industrial History. 3. Geography and World Power. 4. Race Problems. *World Problems :* 1. The League of Nations at Work. 2. The Industrial Activities of the League of Nations. *The Arts :* 1. Musical Appreciation (Elementary Course). 2. Musical Appreciation (Intermediate Course). 3. Dramatic Work. *Adult Education :* 1. Adult Education : A Study of History and Methods.

has been resumed during the last few years, though the fall in continental exchanges has made it impossible for people from France, Germany, and other countries as yet to come to England. Parties from England have visited France, Germany, Belgium, and Italy, and have there been enabled to meet working people, to study civic and national institutions, methods of education, and social problems, hearing lectures also on the history, literature and art of the countries visited. In August 1922, a joint Summer School in Germany was arranged by the Adult Schools and Educational Settlements and the Adult Educational organisations of Germany, 50 people from each country living together for a week at a dismantled Schloss, the programme including not only lectures and discussions on art, music, education, industry, science, and politics, but opportunities of hearing characteristic music, seeing national folk-dances, visiting local industries, and subsequently going to some of the beautiful and historic spots in the Rhineland.

The relationship of the Adult Schools to Fircroft has already been mentioned. A regular feature of the Adult School year is now the Residential Winter School for Women. The following account of the Winter Schools is taken from a pamphlet issued by the National Adult School Union:

"These are held at some one of the existing Guest Houses, during the winter months, when those Guest Houses are less frequented by visitors. The number of students in residence has varied from twelve to twenty-one. The first Winter School held under the auspices of the N.A.S.U. was at York, from October 1919 to March 1920.

"This followed an experiment which had been made in the previous year, at Penscot, in the Mendip Hills.

"Other Winter Schools have been held since, at Penscot and at Friendensthal, Scalby, where the School is again being held in 1922-23.

"The students usually range in age from eighteen to thirty. They come from the most varied occupations, from mill, factory, shop, office, home, and farm: and when their six-months' course is over they usually return to their former work, though in several cases promotion to more responsible positions has followed. Their fees are in a few cases paid

by the students themselves ; more often they are covered wholly or partially by bursaries granted by their Adult School or an Adult School County Union, and the National Council ; sometimes the firm for which a student works has paid her fees ; and in several cases a firm has guaranteed to keep a student's post open for her on her return. Most of the women attending these Winter Schools are members of Adult Schools, or connected with the Movement, but where this has not been so, a student has often discovered the value of Adult School membership during her winter's course, and has afterwards become attached to a local School. The School is open to students who are unconnected with Adult Schools : at the same time it is important that applicants should understand the aims of this Movement, and should realise that in attending a Winter School they are equipping themselves for some form of service for their fellows. For the purpose of these residential courses is that of the whole Adult School Movement, viz. ' To make and develop men and women and to teach them the art of life ' ; it is through service that human personality grows, and the art of life is the art of service.

" A Winter School does not seek in the first place to turn its students into more effective wage-earners ; or to train them in any one craft or trade ; or to instruct them in any special branch of knowledge. Rather it aims at throwing open the windows of the mind, at letting in fresh light, at quickening new interests, at developing unused powers, at arousing wider sympathies. It tries to help them to discover the purpose of their lives, and to train themselves for its achievement.

" To fulfil these purposes a varied curriculum is needful, including the subjects which stimulate, the studies which give knowledge, and the activities which develop and train one's powers. Bible study and literature, psychology, civics, grammar, speakers' classes, folk-dancing, handicrafts—all these work together for the common purpose. But these alone would be insufficient, and the daily life, with its meal times and its household tasks, its country walks and its fireside conversations, is contributing a most important share to the work of the Winter School.

" Each Winter School of the N.A.S.U. has been helped by the presence of one or more foreign students. Four Danish girls and two German girls have made links between the lands, and have connected this English experiment with the Danish High Schools and the Youth Movement of Germany.

An old students' association has been formed, which intends to hold a reunion every year, and to publish a quarterly news-sheet, whereby the different generations of students will be kept in touch with one another." [1]

The school is under the direction of an Oxford graduate, who is a permanent member of the National Adult School Union Staff, and she has the assistance of visiting teachers and lecturers.

[1] For the winter 1924-25 a new departure has been made. The School will be held at Reading, meeting at the Folkhouse (a centre which it is hoped to develop on the lines of an Educational Settlement), in the activities of which the students will participate in the evenings. There are to be two Schools, each of eleven weeks' duration, instead of one lasting for the whole winter; each will be complete in itself, but any student able to stay for both Schools will be able to proceed to fresh work, and need not travel over the same ground a second time.

SECTION 7

SETTLEMENTS AND COLLEGES

(I)

There is friendly and honourable rivalry among certain Educational Settlements with regard to priority of foundation. Swarthmore, Leeds, was founded in 1909, as we have seen, by a Committee of Yorkshire Friends,[1] and was intended as a centre for the training of Adult School leaders, Sunday School teachers, and others engaged in religious work. St. Mary's, York, was established in the same year with a similar purpose. The Lemington-on-Tyne Settlement, which began in 1913, grew out of Adult School work, and still bears the title "Adult School Settlement." These early experiments later developed into the non-residential centres of co-operative effort in adult education to which the name Educational Settlement belongs, and of which Beechcroft, Birkenhead, founded in 1914, may be regarded as the actual pioneer. Its founder and first warden, Mr. Horace Fleming, had previously been actively engaged in Adult School, W.E.A., and Church work. His plan was to bring together, under one roof, all the voluntary organisations for adult education in the neighbourhood, leaving them to deal with their own specific work in their own way, but welding them into a fellowship of students and tutors enjoying the stimulus of something like collegiate life, addressing themselves to the educational needs and possibilities of the whole community, and maintaining close association with the University, the Local Education Authority, organised Labour, and organised Religion. The term "Settlement" was chosen

[1] Cf. p. 249 *supra.*

mainly because it suggested the tradition and spirit of the educational work done by Toynbee Hall and other University Settlements, though the new movement represented a very definite departure from the accepted lines of Settlement work in certain important respects. Thus it cast the onus of the task upon the people already living in the neighbourhood and made no provision for any little colony of men or women from outside to live together in a "residence." Without questioning the importance of "social work," as ordinarily understood, it rescued education from the comparative neglect into which many University and Social Settlements, under stress of that work, were allowing it to fall, by restricting its programme to definite classes, lectures, and other directly educational activities. It completely ruled out the idea of "philanthropy" and substituted for it the spirit of democratic co-operation. While accepting no creed or shibboleth, religious or political, it regarded religion and politics as organically related to the intellectual life of the community, and welcomed men and women of all parties and sects to membership while it offered facilities for the study of religion and politics in a non-partisan guild or fellowship of diverse and autonomous groups. Some Educational Settlements have preferred the name "Folkhouse." That of Guildhouse has been suggested by a special committee of the British Institute of Adult Education in its report on such centres of co-operation in adult education.[1]

The idea that animates the Educational Settlements, then, is that of providing a meeting-place for all sorts and conditions of men, just as the University Settlements have done, but with the more limited purpose of creating a centre in which all forms of Adult Education may find a common home. The co-operation of all sorts of educational organisations is sought. Government and finance are democratic. Whatever group of people may start the Settlement their object is to make it really a community centre of adult education. In addition to the class rooms, lecture hall, and so forth, every Educational Settlement regards a Common

[1] Cf. *The Guildhouse* (1924).

Room as essential, and as belonging to students and staff alike. A considerable number of the Educational Settlements now have Students' Guilds definitely organised, and consisting of all the members of the various classes and groups connected with the Settlement concerned. The number of these Guilds is growing rapidly, and no doubt they will soon be an inseparable part of the organisation of every Educational Settlement. They have representation upon the governing bodies of the Settlements, and are largely responsible for that social life which in itself is so great a factor in adult education, for suggestions as to the programme and policy of the Settlements, and to an increasing degree for raising the necessary finance. Much of the success or otherwise of an Educational Settlement depends upon the Warden, who may be voluntary, part-time or whole-time, and who generally resides on or near the Settlement premises. In the appointment of its Warden, however, the Council of each Settlement is supreme, and it is of great importance that the choice should be one which will appeal to the students. In fact the effort of the Educational Settlements is to get people to do things for themselves instead of having things done for them, and the experience of Settlements is that the keen people in the community, drawn together by their own enthusiasm, will soon reach out to the University, and to those who have had the benefit of University training, for the necessary leadership in study.

The Educational Settlements are affiliated to an Association composed of two delegates appointed from each Settlement and exercising only advisory functions. Its business is to assist in strengthening and extending the movement by any means properly open to it. The conditions of affiliation to the E.S.A. are that each Settlement shall give adult education the primary place in its activities and shall be upon a spiritual basis. No official interpretation has been given to the phrase "spiritual basis," but it is certainly meant to be inclusive, not exclusive. No individual or group would be debarred from membership because he or they took a neutral or even a hostile attitude to formulated religion. On the

other hand the Settlement would be regarded as incomplete unless it included those who look upon fellowship in the study of religious thought and experience as a necessary element in education, if not the supreme aspect of it. Such groups frequently take the form of adult schools or Sunday evening Fellowship Meetings. But an Educational Settlement is in no sense a church. The movement is akin to the Churches in that its general outlook is not dissimilar from that of the first volume in the present book.

The Association has no funds of its own, but receives from year to year grants from various Educational Trusts out of which it makes grants to Settlements towards the cost of wardens' salaries and tutors' fees, provides training bursaries for prospective wardens and tutors, gives bursaries tenable at Fircroft, Beckenham, and Woodbrooke, provides travelling bursaries for wardens and students, gives bursaries to the International People's College at Elsinore, maintains a staff-lecturer on International Relationships, and meets the cost of a central office.

Educational Settlements have originated in various ways. Thus Balham was founded in 1920 by the Adult Schools within the local sub-union as a common centre for their educational work. The Walthamstow Settlement, founded in 1921, was at first the enterprise of a few Adult School workers in the neighbourhood who sought the co-operation of other people interested in adult education. At Letchworth a Settlement was founded by a group of residents in the locality interested in Adult Education, and a number of these happen to be members of the Society of Friends. The John Woolman Settlement in Islington was founded by the Friends' Home Mission Committee. "The Venture," Kensington, was founded by the Kensington Council of Social Service, on which the various churches as well as the educational, social, and philanthropic bodies of the borough are represented. The Sheffield Educational Settlement was founded during the War by the Y.M.C.A., but has since become independent. It, like the Bensham Settlement at Gateshead, differs from the rest in having accommodation

for a small number of "residents," who are chiefly people engaged in educational or other professional work in the locality but desirous of devoting their leisure time to the work of the Settlement.[1] The Gateshead Settlement was founded by a group of Friends on Tyneside, as a memorial to the late Dr. Spence Watson, who lived in the house now used for this purpose. At Scunthorpe the W.E.A. branch and a couple of university tutorial classes organised by it formed the real foundation of the work.

From this it will be seen in how many ways Settlements may spring up. Perhaps the most interesting from the point of view of Church life is the Bristol Folk House. The Tyndale Baptist Church for many years had a mission on College Green, Bristol, with a fine range of premises. The older methods of conducting it were no longer meeting with success. The Adult School Union of Bristol desired a centre for educational work. The two bodies joined forces and invited the co-operation of the University, the Workers' Educational Association, and other educational organisations, with the result that a very strong piece of work has now been established in the centre of Bristol.

At the Settlements the chief forms of educational work are University Tutorial and One-Year classes, generally organised by the Workers' Educational Association: University Extension Courses: Terminal Classes arranged by the Settlements and frequently carrying out a progressive course covering three terms: Week-end Lecture Schools: Study Groups: Series of Miscellaneous Lectures: Choral, Orchestral and Dramatic Societies: Handicraft Societies: Folk Dance Societies: Regional Survey Groups, and so forth. In addition there are Teachers' Clubs, Fellowships of Ministers and Laymen, Adult Schools, and many other groups of this kind varying from Settlement to Settlement.

The subjects cover a very wide range. At Swarthmore, as may be expected from the purpose for which it was founded, special attention is given to Biblical and Theological subjects. A Greek Testament class has been working there

[1] The Sheffield Settlement has now ceased to be residential.

for some time. In practically all the Settlements from time to time studies of this sort are pursued. In general, however, it may be said that the outline given in our earlier chapter dealing with the "Many Coloured Wisdom" [1] is well filled in at the typical Educational Settlement.[2]

[1] Vol. I., Chapter IV.

[2] Taking the fourteen Educational Settlements of which returns are available for 1919-20, there were 9 University Tutorial and One-year Classes, viz.: English Literature, 3; Modern Languages, 1; Economics and Industrial History, 3; Sociology, 1; Psychology, 1. In the following year the number had increased to 26, viz.: English Literature, 5; Modern Languages, 4; Economics and Industrial History, 7; Sociology, 2; Philosophy, 1; Bible Study, 1; Psychology, 1; Mathematics, 1; Natural Science, 2; Folk Dancing, 1; Music, 1. Terminal and other classes in 1919-20 numbered 12: English Literature, 1; Modern Languages, 5; Art and Archaeology, 1; Music, 2; Elocution and Drama, 2; Handicraft, 1. In 1920-21, however, the number rose to 75, the increase being generally in Music, Elocution and Drama, and Handicraft, of which there were respectively 16, 10, and 8: the remainder were—English Literature, 3; Modern Languages, 6; English History, 3; Modern History, 4; Economics and Industrial History, 2; Sociology, 2; Philosophy, 1; Bible Study, 1; Psychology, 4; Natural History, 1; Art and Archaeology, 1; Hygiene and Health, 2; Folk Dancing, 4; Physical Training, 7. In the first of these two years there were 17 courses of lectures: 6 in History, 3 in Sociology, 1 in Bible Study, 1 in Natural History, 2 in Geography, 2 in Art and Archaeology, and 2 in Music. In the following year there were 31 such courses: 1 in English Literature, 1 in Ancient Literature, 2 in Modern Literature, 2 in History, 4 in Economics and Industrial History, 3 in Sociology, 3 in Philosophy, 3 in Bible Study, 2 in Psychology, 1 in Natural Science, 1 in Geography, 1 in Architecture, 3 in Music, 1 in Handicraft, 1 in Hygiene and Health, and 2 Miscellaneous. In addition to these, there were 8 Study and Discussion Groups in 1919-20 and 21 in 1920-21, 4 of these in the latter year taking Bible Study and 5 Sociology, while in each year there was one in Education. These figures were submitted to the Board of Education in response to a special enquiry. The totals for the year 1921-22, 1922-23, 1923-24 show a steady increase, but more interesting is the growth of individual settlement life and activity. The number of affiliated Settlements has not increased during the last two years, partly owing to the general financial depression in the country which has hindered local groups from launching out, and partly because the Association has adopted the policy of not affiliating new Settlements until their

The use of Pageants is being developed. Beechcroft presented an excellent Shakespeare Pageant in 1921, in which some 100 of the students took part, and a Pageant of Literature in 1922 on a similar scale, both being prepared entirely, and in every respect, by members of the Settlement. In 1923 and 1924 two historical plays, *Wat Tyler* and *The King's Jewry*, both by Halcott Glover, were treated as pageant-plays, utilising the services of nearly 200 performers in addition to the people actually in the cast. The few weeks before the actual presentation would otherwise have been to a great extent dead educationally, since they followed the end of the Spring term, but the researches of the students into literature and history, into matters of characteristic music and dances, costume, and social life, relating to the periods of the pageants, proved a very useful educational stimulus. St. Mary's Settlement, York, had an equally interesting historical pageant in 1921, and each summer term since then has been marked by the presentation of specially prepared plays, chiefly Shakespearean. In each case the Settlement Community Players present plays from time to time throughout the year.

All the Educational Settlements co-operate very fully not only with the Universities, Local Education Authorities, Adult Schools and W.E.A. branches, but whenever possible with the Churches, Women's Institutes, Village Clubs and other local organisations. Letchworth, in addition to maintaining a very strong programme at the Settlement building in the town, has pushed out into the remoter villages in the district, and in eight of these is carrying through successful classes in Modern European History, Social History, Modern Drama, Music, and Folk Dancing. Ten tutors, of whom three are whole-time, are at work. Swarthmore has done a good deal to assist Adult Schools in various parts of Yorkshire,

work has attained a fairly high standard and some prospect of permanence. But a number of promising ventures have been initiated, and more are likely. Meantime, the work of several of the earlier Educational Settlements has developed remarkably, both intensively and extensively. *Vide* also footnote on p. 408 *infra*.

and other Settlements are considering ways and means of developing extension work in their neighbourhoods.

Certain Educational Settlements were among the pioneers in carrying educational work into prisons, by the cordially given permission of the respective Governors. Now that the official scheme has been so widely developed these Settlements and others continue to render valuable service in this way.

The report of the Beechcroft Settlement for the year 1921-22 affords some facts typical of Educational Settlement work. 23 classes were held each week, with an average weekly attendance of 450. The total membership was 710, and the student attendances for the season 14,100, those for the previous year totalling 12,304.[1]

"The membership is recruited by a threefold system. Movements such as the Workers' Educational Association and the Plebs' League organise their own classes and appoint their own lecturers, while groups such as the Trade Unions, while retaining a certain amount of autonomy, usually leave the selection of the tutor to the Settlement. The largest portion of the membership, however, is made up of individuals who come for one or other of the Settlement classes.

"The aim is education considered in the twofold aspect of (*a*) the individual, and (*b*) the community. Through its classes the Settlement stimulates the individual in his search for truth. Some classes are designed to meet intellectual needs, such as W.E.A. Tutorial classes, French and Esperanto classes, popular lectures, etc., while others such as a Quest group, Ministers' group, Young Friends' Circle, etc., develop the sympathies and understanding. Self-expression and corporate activity go hand in hand in the Dramatic class, and the former also finds outlet in Handicrafts, Woodwork, and Rhythmic Dancing classes, while the community spirit is developed through the Local History Society, Regional Survey Exhibits and Education Club."

[1] The Ninth Annual Report, 1922-23, which is the last at present available, records 769 meetings (including 16 Saturday evening lectures and 34 of the Sunday Evening Fellowship), an enrolled membership of 1031 (excluding those two items), and a total attendance of 20,080 (including 1138 at the Saturday lectures and 3537 at the Sunday Fellowship).

The following organisations each appoint one member to Beechcroft Council :—The University, The University Extension Board, the University School of Social Studies, The Local Education Authority, The Birkenhead Trades Council, The Lancashire and Cheshire District Adult School Union, The Birkenhead Workers' Educational Association. The Council includes also three members appointed by the Students' Association, and one appointed by the Educational Settlements Association. In the prospectus of classes,

"The Local Education Authority was represented by one class, the W.E.A., by five, and one class was held under the auspices of the Central Labour College."

The character and scope of the work done in classes with regard to which no application was made to, or recognition gained from, either the Board of Education or the Local Education Authority may be gathered from the programmes of the various societies and groups in the Settlement. Among the programmes given in detail are those of the "Anno Domini" Discussion Club which meets weekly and took as its subject from October to December "Personal Life in the World of to-day and to-morrow," under the three headings of The Psychological Basis, Self-Education, and Self-Expression: From January to March the general subject of the Club was "The Messages of Great Writers." The Women's Afternoon Study Circle spent four months on "Great Books of Other Lands." The Anno Domini Club has announced as the general subject of its weekly discussions for the six months October 1924-March 1925 "Is Democracy a Failure?" and the subject is treated from a wide variety of standpoints. The Women's Study Group takes alternately for its weekly subjects during the six months "The Bible in Human Life" and "Women of Action." Beechcroft Fellowship had the following list of subjects for its monthly meetings :—"The Christian Ideal for Society," "The Fundamental Principles of a Christian Society," "Christianity and Private Property," "Christ in Modern Thought," "Christian Principles and the Wage System," "The Christian Attitude towards Competition," "The Place of Compromise in an Imperfect Social

Order," "The Position in India." This Fellowship includes ministers and clergy of all denominations, and the topics were introduced by both clerical and lay members of the Fellowship. The Birkenhead Education Club had twelve meetings in the course of six months and dealt with many psychological and educational topics of interest to both teachers and parents.

In the 1924-25 programme appear a Local History Society, a Poetry Society, and a Play Reading Group, and the Beechcroft Players. There are three tutorial classes, three one-year classes, a Labour College class, six week-end schools, and Saturday popular lectures, three adult schools, several fellowships, and of course the Anno Domini Club and the Women's Study Group, the Education Club, a Young Men's Club, and a variety of other groups such as League of Nations Union, Auxiliary Movement, and so forth.

The Letchworth Report for 1921-22 says that :

"The Settlement is trying to provide an education for men and women of a broad and humane kind : to show through History how man and his institutions have progressed and where he has failed : to teach, through Literature and Music and Art, those things which add interest to life and make it more beautiful : through Science to cultivate the reasoning powers : through Economics to show the laws which govern industry and the exchange of the necessary things of life : through discussion at all the classes to sharpen the mind by contact with the thought of others. . . .

"The men and women students of the Settlement Classes are all united in the Students' Fellowship. It is responsible for electing half the governing body of the Settlement, the Council, and so taking a large share in its management."

The main classes of the Settlement during the year were those in Modern Novelists, Musical Appreciation, Economics, Public Speaking, Decorative Art, and Dramatic Study and Play-Reading.[1] The total number of students was 235, the

[1] To these are added, for 1924-25, English, Advanced French, Elementary Latin, Economic History, Social History, Modern European History, and the Life and Teaching of Jesus. Four classes are arranged in co-operation with the County Council, and the Warden gives Saturday morning lectures on Literature to teachers

average weekly attendances 150. There were also regular Chamber Music Evenings with a total attendance of 532, and an average attendance of 67. The note about this is as follows :

" A unique feature of the musical side of the Settlement's work is the holding of monthly Chamber Music Evenings at which the works of the great masters are treated in such a way as to make it possible for those who have had no musical training to enjoy them.

" A few words are said about the life and times of the composer : the main themes of the music are printed on the programme, played separately and explained, and finally the music is played right through. Many people have been able to gain a real insight into good music by this means, and these evenings are highly appreciated."

An even more interesting achievement is the full choral and dramatic presentation in 1924 of Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, an effort that produced a spirit of co-operation in the town and district hitherto unexampled there, while the standard of excellence in preparation and performance was remarkably high. As evidence of what an Educational Settlement can do in the service of a wide area it may be mentioned that Letchworth Settlement took the initiative in the formation of a Rural Community Council for Hertfordshire : this led to the adoption by the county of the Libraries Act 1920 : the county is thus qualified to benefit under the far-reaching scheme of the Carnegie Trustees.

An interesting glimpse into the life of an Educational Settlement is given in the syllabus of the Autumn Term (September to December), 1922, of the St. Mary's Settlement, York. The term began with a special lecture week, when Miss Effie Ryle, M.A. (Director and Chief Tutor of the N.A.S.U. Winter School for Working Women) gave four afternoon lectures on " George Eliot and Her Novels " and four evening lectures on " Some Phases of Adult Education," giving also the inaugural lecture for the session on " Literature

assembled by the County Council from the southern half of the county, as he did in the previous year to teachers from the northern. In 1924-25, of 500 students 200 were in the villages.

in relation to Social and Ethical Movements," and four lectures over the week-end on "The New Psychology and the Old Gospel."

The weekly programme is as follows :—On Sunday evening at 8.15, there is a discussion circle on "What is the World of my Desire?"—"an endeavour to enquire into the possible application of the Christian ethic to modern social conditions." This is preceded at 7 o'clock by "The Settlement Meeting"—"a free Sunday fellowship for people of all shades of religious opinion." On Monday evenings there is a Speech Training Class for Teachers, Public Speakers, Community Players, etc.; an Expression Class for the discussion of current topics and the acquirement of expression in speech and writing; and a Science Class on "The Life of Plants." On Tuesday evenings there is a Leaders' Class for Adult School Leaders, Sunday School Teachers, and others: in alternate weeks the *Adult School Handbook* Lessons are studied and classes taken in "The Old Testament Prophets, and their Message for To-day." Also on Tuesday evenings there are meetings of the two Settlement Orchestras, the W.E.A. Tutorial Class on "English Literature" (3rd year), and the French class (1st year and 2nd year). On Wednesday evenings there are a Madrigal and Glee Society, and a Settlement class in Economics, lasting two terms. On Wednesday afternoons there are lectures on "Modern Sex Problems," the lectures being for the most part given by doctors. On Thursday evenings, there is a class in "Ethics" lasting for two terms, a W.E.A. University Tutorial Class in "Social Philosophy" (2nd year), a meeting of the Settlement Community Players, and a French Literature group at which the lectures are given in French. On Friday evenings there are lectures on "Modern British Novelists and Essayists," a German Class, and an Esperanto Class. There are also Handicraft Classes on Mondays and Wednesdays, and weekly Study Circles on "The Elements of Sociology." The programme includes a considerable number of special engagements in the shape of public lectures, a week-end lecture school on "International Relationships,"

and an exhibition of Art, Photography and Handicrafts. The Students' Association meets from time to time and is represented upon the Settlement Council. There are also social gatherings. On the cover of the syllabus the Settlement is defined as " a People's College, open to all men and women, in which the requirements of the Ideal Society are sought, viz. : Fellowship, along with Knowledge and Understanding."

The St. Mary's programme for the Autumn term 1924 shows, among other items, a Sunday evening discussion circle on " My Creed "—" Aim : Out of variety of expression to glean what is fundamental and ' constant ' in religious belief " : a weekly " Teachers' Social Hour " organised by the York branch of the N.U.T. : a weekly class in the study of religion conducted for four weeks by a Congregational minister on " The Synoptic Problem " and for four by a Mirfield Father on " The Bible and the Kingdom " : and a course on " Practical Psychology " by a tutor from the Leeds Psychotherapy Clinic.

(II)

The small group of institutions affiliated to the Educational Settlements Association comprises, in addition to the Educational Settlements of the type above described, three colleges, at which students reside for whole-time periods generally lasting one year.

The first of these is Woodbrooke, Birmingham. Its work has already been described in a previous chapter,[1] so details are unnecessary at this point. It may be observed, however, that the College is united with Fircroft, Westhill, King's Mead and Carey Hall in a group that pursues a policy of co-operation in the arrangement of lectures and so forth.[2] King's Mead is a centre of training for the Friends' Foreign Missionary Association. Carey Hall is a similar training college for Women Missionaries of the London Missionary

[1] See p. 251 *supra.*

[2] To these have now been added the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel's Training College for Women Missionaries.

Society, the Baptist Zenana Mission, and the Women's Missionary Association of the Presbyterian Church of England. Westhill is primarily a training centre for Sunday School teachers and workers among adolescents.[1]

Fircroft College was founded at Selly Oak, Birmingham, in January 1909 :

"It was felt, among other things, that the invaluable work of the Adult Schools, the Workers' Educational Association, and kindred institutions needed supplementing in a particular way : that larger opportunities of systematic study should be brought within the reach of those desirous of pursuing it : and that, above all, there should be added to systematic study a common life and fellowship through which might be nurtured a clearer discernment of the things of abiding value.

"The desirable thing was a Working Men's College, somewhat like to the 'People's High Schools' in Denmark, which should be adaptable to varying standards of educational attainment on the part of its members, but the chief end of which should be to mould and fashion men, and teach them the greatest theme of all—the Art of Right Living." [2]

Among those who did most to secure the establishment of the College was the late Tom Bryan, M.A., who was Warden of Fircroft from 1909 till his death, at the age of fifty-two, in 1917. Himself of working-class parentage and experience, he was trained for the Congregational ministry, but went from college to be sub-warden of the Browning Hall Settlement. His life and work there, together with visits that he paid to the Danish People's High Schools, gave him a keen enthusiasm for the ideals that he worked out at Fircroft, where his personality deeply influenced his students.[3]

Between 1909 and 1916, when the College was taken over for three years, first as a military hospital and then as a centre for the medical treatment of discharged and disabled soldiers, between 200 and 300 students, drawn from various

[1] See pp. 287 ff. *supra.*

[2] Pamphlet issued by the Fircroft Council.

[3] See *Tom Bryan : First Warden of Fircroft*, by H. G. Wood and A. E. Ball.

industries and from different parts of the country, completed courses at Fircroft. Since 1919 it has again been available for college work and has had practically each term its full complement of 28 students.

"No entrance examination is imposed on intending students, but the Committee will require to be assured of their good faith, and preference will be given to those who have already proved their desire for higher education by taking advantage of the Workers' Educational Association and similar classes." [1]

Since the War the constitution of the College has been revised and "The Fircroft College Trust" founded. This has the absolute management and control of the College and the Trust Fund. The intention is that the Trustees shall delegate most of the management of the College to a Council of some forty members representative of various bodies interested in adult education, which again will delegate much of the detailed management of Fircroft to a small executive committee. The objects of the foundation are stated thus :

"To establish and maintain a house or residence or houses or residences in which male and female students of any age, nationality, religion or political opinion may reside and study.

"To provide for the higher and general education of adults by affording instruction for such students in, among other subjects, the History and Literature of the Bible, English History, European History, General History, Industrial History, Citizenship, and Economics and Present-day Social Questions, the English Language and Literature, Elementary Mathematics and Nature Study, Physical Training, Handicrafts, Psychology and Philosophy, Science, and such other subjects as shall from time to time be approved by the Trustees or governing body appointed by them."

Co-operation with such bodies as the University, the L.E.A., the Adult School Union, and the Selly Oak Colleges is specifically mentioned in the trust deed.[2]

[1] Pamphlet issued by Fircroft Council.

[2] The Trust has lately established near Evesham a similar College, bearing the name "Avoncroft," specially designed to meet the needs of agricultural workers, though not on technical or vocational lines.

As stated above, the National Adult School Union is represented on the Council, as also is the W.E.A. The N.A.S.U. grants bursaries up to 50 per cent. of the cost of a student's course on the understanding that the student's Adult School or District Union, or the student himself, finds the remainder. Through the Educational Settlements Association other bursaries are offered to students from Educational Settlements. But entrance is not confined to Adult School members and Educational Settlements students, and there are College bursaries other than those just mentioned.

In addition to the Warden, there is a staff of lecturers, resident and non-resident, and the College benefits by its co-operation with the four others in the Selly Oak group, as it does by its proximity to the University of Birmingham.

"The subjects studied include the Bible, English History, Modern European History, Economics, Industrial History, Citizenship and Present-day Social Questions, English Language and Literature, Elementary Mathematics and Nature Study. It is not expected, nor would it be desirable, that any student should try to cover the whole ground, but each one in consultation with the Warden plans the special course he wishes to take. It is not desired that working men should be induced to leave their trades: rather it is hoped that they will go back to their accustomed spheres and spread the wish for education among their fellows.[1]

"All residents are expected to share in the work of the house and to assist in keeping the garden in order.

"In the religious and devotional life there is the utmost freedom. The morning reading, chosen by each in turn from any source he thinks stimulating or helpful, and the hymns and friendly discussion which accompany it, make that half-hour a time of great value, and one which is remembered most warmly by 'Old Fircrofters.'" [2]

[1] The present scheme of study is given in a recently-issued descriptive booklet entitled *Fircroft Working Men's College*, as follows:

A. 1. Industrial History and Economics. 2. Industrial and Trade Union Law. 3. The History of Politics and Sociology. 4. Constitutional History. 5. Local Government. 6. Economic Geography. 7. International Relations. 8. Elementary Mathematics and Statistics. 9. Literature, Art, and Musical Appreciation.

B. 1. Logic. 2. English Composition. 3. Psychology.

[2] Pamphlet issued by Fircroft Council.

The desirable period of residence is one year, of three terms. Occasionally a man has been enabled to take a second year. The difficulty, however, is that working men, especially if they have dependents, cannot afford to be away from their normal work for more than one or two terms. None the less, a large number somehow manage a year, and the percentage of those who do so has been steadily increasing. For similar reasons it is almost impossible for married men to take a course at Fircroft. The majority of the students are therefore in early manhood, though some are of middle age. There is a strong Old Fircrofters' Association, numbering over 350, represented on the Council, and keenly interested in the Extension Movement. As a memorial to Tom Bryan they wish to raise sufficient money to endow eight annual scholarships to the College and have already raised enough for one.

The international feeling at Fircroft, naturally traditional in view of the influence of the Danish movement upon its founders, is maintained by the constant inclusion among its students of five or six men from the Continent, and especially from Denmark. A student from Germany arranged, in the Spring of 1922, for nearly a score of his fellow Fircrofters to spend a month in Germany, visiting the homes of working-people, studying social conditions, and acquainting themselves with the German Adult Education Movement.

A number of students sent by the Bournville Works Council attend part-time day courses and occasionally other outside students are admitted to classes.

A Fircroft Extension Scheme has for its aim the establishment of a similar college in each university area in Britain, seeking, like Fircroft, "To make good citizens by giving non-partisan teaching of University standard in an atmosphere of fellowship." They would endeavour to put into practice the recommendations of the Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, 1919, so far as these are concerned with residential education. At the present time, when money is so difficult

to obtain, little progress can be made, but the strength of the Committee's appeal can hardly be contested. This says :

" The destinies of Britain lie to-day with the workers to a greater extent than ever before in British history. A momentous change is being effected in the forces of government, of which labour's new spirit of assertion, and its awakening to and present use of political and industrial strength, are new factors. The outcome of this insurgence depends on whether the workers' power is used with responsibility and knowledge : and this, in turn, depends on the workers' accessibility to non-partisan education of the best type.

" It is no coincidence that, accompanying the realisation of his political and industrial strength, comes from the worker a demand for economic and political education greater and more insistent than ever before. We believe that in this demand for adult education lies the true hope of the present crisis : that on its speedy satisfaction depends the future happiness of our land.

" The workers' educational demand should be recognised for what it is : not only a desire for more facilities for evening study—a demand comparatively well supplied—but also for education of University standard and the stimulus of collegiate life. This latter is the more important aspect of the question, in the present circumstances.

" On leaders of labour in the future will fall the grave responsibility of helping to shape a just industrial order, of determining new, wiser, political policies, national and international, of reconciling their decisions with the philosophical and spiritual truths on which rest good government, national stability and well-being. Preparation for these grave tasks cannot be had merely by spare-time evening tuition, but only by systematic study in a residential college : and it is just here that the dangerous weakness lies, for it is doubtful if in the whole country there are 100 places in residential colleges where those workers whom qualities of intellect and strength of character mark out as future leaders may receive teaching adequately to equip them for their responsibilities. Unless this deficiency is quickly supplied, duties of the most intricate kind in government, involving consequences to national stability of tremendous importance, will fall upon men whose preparation to discharge them consists only in spare-time study, which, even when not intermittent, is—owing to the fewness of the hours they are able to give to it—necessarily limited in scope and outlook.

" Because the workers' command of political and industrial power has outstripped their command of the educational facilities adequate to a wise use of that power, and thus has created a situation fraught with peril to the nation, we submit that the remedy lies in greatly increasing the number of residential colleges, wherein workers may prepare adequately to meet their greater responsibilities as citizens and leaders of citizens." [1]

The Residential College for Working Women, at Beckenham, is in many respects a counterpart of Fircroft. Founded in February 1920 by the Y.W.C.A., it passed in June of that year under the control of an independent Council containing representatives nominated by the Y.W.C.A., the Kent County Council Education Committee, the University of London, the W.E.A., the National Adult School Union, the Educational Settlements Association, the World Association for Adult Education, the Central Board of Missions, the London Missionary Society, the National Federation of Women Workers, the National Organisation of Girls' Clubs, and later, the Old Students' Association of the College itself. The late Master of Balliol was Chairman of the Council.[2] The College

" is designed for eighteen students, of whom eight enter in September and ten in January of each year. It is open to women workers of all kinds, particularly to those who have had only elementary school education, and since leaving school have been engaged in weekly wage earning. Students are not, as a rule, admitted under the age of 21. . . .

" The aim of the College is to enlarge the vision of its students, to develop their mental and spiritual growth, and their capacity for leadership and service. There is no intention of training for any special work: the College course does not qualify students for a particular career nor prepare them for an examination. It is not the avenue to a better post or an opportunity for 'getting on,' but it offers to

[1] Pamphlet, *Labour and Government*, issued by Fircroft Extension Committee.

[2] Succeeded, on his death, by Prof. J. L. Stocks, M.A. In 1924 the College was incorporated, and is now governed by a Council elected by the members, but including persons nominated by some of the statutory and voluntary bodies above-mentioned.

those who wish to be more useful citizens the chance of learning how to acquire knowledge and how to develop and use their powers in the service of their fellows.

"The Council of the College believe that the life of the nation will be incalculably enriched by the possession of women citizens with the workers' special experience behind them, and the cultivation of mind and spirit that College life can give. Experience has already shown the value of a year of such leisure and study both to those students who return to the shop or factory or office, and also to those for whom it has proved the stepping-stone to their true vocation." [1]

The period of residence is a complete year, students not being accepted for any shorter time. The occupations from which students come are of all kinds—shops, factories, offices, domestic service and the Civil Service are all represented. Two students have come from Denmark and two from America. One or two have met the complete cost from their own savings: some have received whole or part bursaries from the firms by whom they are employed: in several cases the Local Education Authorities for the areas from which they come have contributed: for the rest bursaries have had to be found from private supporters of the College, Girls' Public Schools, or Women's Colleges. One prospective student was helped by her fellow-members in the branch of the Auxiliary Movement to which she belongs. About half of the students have returned to their former employment: one, a lace mender, secured a scholarship at Goldsmiths' College that will enable her to fulfil her lifelong ambition of training as a teacher: one, formerly a despatch clerk, is now doing social purity work in a London diocese: one, who was a solicitor's clerk, is training for welfare work: one, who came from domestic service, is now an assistant matron in a Y.M.C.A. hostel: another who had been in domestic work is a probationer in a Cripples' Hospital: one student was in domestic work, and had rendered excellent service in the junior department of a Sunday School; after a year at the College she was given an E.S.A. bursary for a summer term at the International

[1] College Prospectus (1922).

People's College, Elsinore, before going on for a year at Woodbrooke.[1]

The life of the College is very simple, the students doing the major part of the domestic work themselves, under the supervision of a qualified teacher of Domestic Science.

"A House Committee composed of all members of the College regularly discusses matters of domestic importance, while the Students' Council gives an opportunity to the students to express their views on general policy and to organise their corporate life through their own elected officers." [2]

The subjects in which there are regular courses of lectures, given by the Principal, the resident tutor, the bursar, and visiting lecturers and tutors (many of whom are on the staffs of colleges in the University of London), have been determined by careful experiment.

No subject is compulsory, but the Fourth Annual Report states that as a result of free option :

"All the students take certain courses—Geography, Music, Newspapers, Politics, and Psychology. All take History, and the majority take both courses ; nearly all take Biology and Physiology, though few read much in these subjects ; most take one English course at least ; fewer take Economics, as they feel that they can do this better after studying History, and can find many opportunities of doing so after they get back to work." [3]

[1] A similarly interesting list appears in the Fourth Annual Report, for the year 1923, as, indeed, in each of the four thus far issued.

[2] First Annual Report.

[3] The Fourth Report states the Curriculum as follows :

Autumn. Psychology (Juniors), How to Study the Bible (O.T.), First Aid and Hygiene, Handicrafts.

Spring. Psychology (Juniors), The Life of Christ, Cooking and Catering, Handicrafts.

Summer. Social Psychology (both sets), Subject Chosen by Class, The Elements of Physiology.

The Elements of Biology, Singing Unison and Choral, How to Listen to Music, How to Read the Newspapers, Public Speaking, Dramatic Elocution, Modern English Poetry, Shakespeare's Plays, General English Literature, Politics and Institutions, Social and Industrial History, Political and Economic Geography, European History (chiefly Nineteenth Century), Social Administration, The Elements of Economics.

It is also the case that few, if any, do not elect to take the Bible-Study Courses.

The method of teaching is that of the tutorial class. The course that each student shall take is determined in consultation with the Principal. One essay a week is set in connection with the subjects studied and individual coaching is available for every student.

The College has been full practically from the start, and the enthusiasm of the students and of the Old Students' Association (now numbering some seventy members) is immense. In its Second Annual Report the Council remarks :

" The Women's University Colleges are full to overflowing, and far more are needed to accommodate the large numbers of women desirous of an academic training. But even if they were more numerous, they would not meet all the needs of the working woman. At present very few of these can spare the time or acquire the necessary preparation to equip themselves for this highly specialised life, adapted as it is to the needs of those entering professions. . . . Until the provision for Adult Education is immensely widened, we are confident that there will be plenty of scope for colleges which aim at education rather than training, and seek to prepare their students for wider life and fuller citizenship."

Great importance must be attached to the fact that the National Adult School Union's Winter School for Women, the Beckenham Residential College for Working Women, and the Fircroft College stand alone in providing a period of full-time education for adult working-class people with no motive beyond that of enriching and developing the individual and thus enabling him or her to fulfil more effectively an appropriate task in the community. The Central Labour College is avowedly propagandist on Marxian lines. Ruskin College, with its new annexe for women, in actual fact provides primarily (though not as a set policy) a training for Trade Union leadership. Also the three institutions described above, while exerting no effort to fetter or warp individual thought and conviction, definitely regard the spirit and way of life inculcated by Jesus Christ as vital in its importance.

While neither Fircroft nor Beckenham prepares students for any examination, or for entrance to any course of specialised training, it is interesting to observe that in 1924 one Fircroft student has obtained an Educational Scholarship for two years at Manchester College, Oxford, under the new scheme recently inaugurated by that College, and another a Bursary for one year at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, under the new scheme established by the University Extra-Mural Board, while a Beckenham student has just completed a three-years' course at the London School of Economics.

The newly-established Roman Catholic residential college for workers at Oxford has been described in an earlier chapter.[1] It is to be hoped that this may in time be ranked with the three institutions just mentioned, but it is as yet so much in the experimental stage that its future policy and development can hardly be prophesied. Probably the great danger that it will have to face is that of subordinating education to propaganda, but the clearly expressed intentions of its founders, and of those at present responsible for it, as indicated in the quotations made from its literature in the pages dealing with it above, leave little room for misgiving on that score.[2]

(III)

Historically and numerically considered, the Residential Settlements should come before the Educational in our survey. But despite the amount of educational work done in Residential Settlements, and the fine educational programme particularly characteristic of a few, the Educational Settlements are *ex hypothesi* more distinctive as a group

[1] See pp. 277 ff. *supra.*

[2] But cf. a very critical note in *The Highway* for December 1922 (p. 35), which protests that there is no evidence of working-class control in the governing body, that religious differences have no place in the Labour movement, and that " the proposal to embarrass Catholic trade unionists by the advocacy of a theory of social structure blessed by the Church seems to be a fatal error." But is not the Plebs League, which the W.E.A. ranges with itself against the Catholic College, propagandist ?

than the others, when primarily educational movements are under discussion. The real distinction between the Settlements affiliated to the Educational Settlements Association and those which belong to the Federation of Residential Settlements is that the object of the former is chiefly, if not solely, educational, while that of the latter is mainly social, though in some cases it includes educational activities. Practically all the Educational group are non-residential (except that wardens generally reside), but all the Residential ones regard it as essential that at least a few settlers should actually share a "residence" on or near the Settlement premises.

Of 45 Residential Settlements in England, not affiliated to the Educational Settlements Association,[1] 14 are definitely Anglican, 2 Wesleyan Methodist, 2 Congregationalist, 2 Presbyterian, 1 Roman Catholic, and 1 Jewish. But even some of these are worked undenominationally, *e.g.* Bermondsey Settlement, which is connected with the Wesleyan Methodist Church and certain of its public schools: Mansfield House, connected with Mansfield College, Oxford: The Women's Presbyterian Settlement in East London, connected with the Presbyterian Church of England: or the Dockland Settlement, which is Church of England, but has members of all denominations on its staff: while "Toc H" houses have each an Anglican Chaplain,[2] but set down their denomination as "All Christian Denominations." Of the twenty-four that describe themselves as "Undenominational," or "Non-sectarian," many were founded, like Toynbee Hall, by people like Canon Barnett, who established the first University Settlement as a definite, though unlabelled, Christian enterprise: others, like the Women's Settlement, Canning Town, which was founded practically by the Congregational denomination: Browning Hall, Walworth, and Croft House, Sheffield, both of which were founded by Congregational ministers: or the Mary Ward Settlement in Bloomsbury,

[1] Four are affiliated.

[2] Free Church chaplains are now being appointed to some "Toc H" groups.

founded (under the name of the Passmore Edwards Settlement) by Mrs. Humphry Ward, had their direct origin in the life of Churches.

It is remarkable, too, that so many of the undenominational as well as the denominational ones declare in such explicit terms the Christian character of their basis and aim. Thus the Bermondsey Settlement says that its purpose is :

" 1. To bring additional force and attractiveness to Christian work.

" 2. To become a centre of Social Life where all classes may meet together on equal terms for healthful intercourse and recreation.

" 3. To give facilities for the study of Literature, History, Science and Art.

" 4. To bring men together to discuss general and special evils and to seek their remedy.

" 5. To take such part in Local Administration and Philanthropy as may be possible.

" 6. And so to do all this that it shall be perfectly clear that no mere sectarian advantage is sought, but that it shall be possible for all good men to associate themselves with our work."

Canning Town Women's Settlement states its purpose thus :

" To promote the religion of Jesus Christ in its most comprehensive meaning. To live to the highest in all things that pertain to us, and to lend a hand as best we can to all others for this same end. To recognise the good lying at the heart of all people. To aid in righting the wrongs that cross our paths."

The aims of Oxford House are set forth in similar terms :

" The Oxford House in Bethnal Green is established in order that Oxford men may take part in the Social and Religious Work of the Church in East London : that they may learn something of the life of the poor : may try to better the conditions of the working classes as regards health and recreation, mental culture and spiritual teaching : and may offer an example, as far as in them lies, of a simple and religious life."

The " Time and Talents " Settlement in Bermondsey Street, E. London, states as its object :

" To provide a centre for girls who wish to do social work

which has as its ideal the bringing of Christ's Kingdom on earth."

"Toc H" formulates its purpose thus :

"To promote : (1) Wide friendship on class reconciliation lines : (2) Wide thinking on Kingdom of God lines : (3) Widespread voluntary social service according to each man's ability."

The Women's Presbyterian Settlement in East India Dock Road says :

"The original aim of the Settlement was to help the Presbyterian Churches in the East End. Now, in addition, the residents take part in local government, in all the social activities of the Borough of Poplar which ask for help, and carry on clubs for women, girls and boys. The Settlement also undertakes to train students in practical work. The Clubs are educational in the wide sense of the word and they help to indicate some of the right uses of leisure, and encourage the government of the Club by its members."

The Cambridge Medical Mission Settlement states its purpose in a single sentence :

"To preach the Gospel in its entirety."

Many, like Mansfield House, say briefly that their object is "Educational, social, religious."

Probably all would affirm that the whole of their work is indirectly educational. Practically all have clubs, in which music, drama, handicrafts, occasional lectures, and sometimes classes, usually form part of the programme. Much is done to train women in the care of their children. Often there is considerable effort to develop an intelligent and responsible citizenship among those who inhabit the neighbourhood of the Settlement. But the number of Residential Settlements that have well-organised provision for adult education is comparatively small.

Among those that give a prominent place to adult education Toynbee Hall stands out both by reason of its tradition and because of the special facilities which it enjoys through recognition and support by the London County Council as an Evening Institute. It reports classes for some 600

regular students, these including two university tutorial classes, and one-year classes in Philosophy, Logic, Literature, Psychology, Plato's *Republic*, History, Languages, Drawing and Painting, Dancing, Orchestral and Choral Music, First Aid, and Gymnastics : it has also Dramatic, Natural History, Travelling, Shakespearean, Art, Historical, Rambling, and other societies.

The Mary Ward Settlement programme contains classes arranged jointly by the W.E.A. and the Settlement in Botany, World History, and Geography, Psychology, History, Social Economics, Philosophy, Ancient and Mediaeval Literature, French Literature, the Dutch School of Painting, Choral Music, French, the League of Nations, and Drama, while it has frequent lectures and very active Dramatic Societies and Greek Dancing Classes. It has lately developed very fully the educational aspect of dramatic work.

The Bermondsey Settlement has University Extension Lectures, a Choral Society, a String Band, and classes in Elocution, Art Needlework, Photography, Dressmaking, First Aid and Home Nursing, Languages, and subjects for Civil Service and Commercial Examinations.

Canning Town Women's Settlement reports Bible Classes under the Adult School Union, a class for the Co-operative Guild under the W.E.A., classes in Citizenship, English Literature, Dramatics, Cooking, and Needlework, under the Board of Education.

Mansfield House has Social Study Schools (for parties of undergraduates), Musical Societies, Dramatic Society, and classes in English, French, and Educraft, besides Adult Schools.

The Princess Club, Bermondsey, has classes in Shakespeare, History, Literature, Economics, Psychology, Handicrafts, Singing, and Drill. It " makes a special point of religious teaching and study circles."

Talbot Settlement (the Women's side of Cambridge House) has lectures on social and religious questions, and is distinguished among the Residential Settlements by paying special attention to the training of Sunday School teachers.

St. Margaret's House, Bethnal Green, is a recognised training centre under the London Diocesan Board of Women's Work.

In the provinces Liverpool University Settlement, Ancoats Settlement, Manchester, Birmingham Women's University Settlement, the Chesterfield Settlement and the Bristol University Settlement are the principal Settlements in the "Residential" group that give a considerable place in their programmes to university tutorial classes, one-year classes, lectures, study groups, musical and dramatic societies.

Some of the Residential Settlements are recognised by Universities and Colleges as centres of practical training for students in their Schools of Social Science. The Bristol University Settlement is pre-eminent in this respect, while in London the "Time and Talents" Settlement and the Maurice Hostel (which is connected with the Christian Social Union) are similarly recognised by Bedford College and the London School of Economics. Other London Settlements make it part of their purpose, like the Talbot Settlement, "to provide training for social and religious students," or like St. Helen's House, Stratford, to "provide a residential centre for practical social work in connection with the University course in social service."

Broadly speaking, even those Settlements in the Residential Group that are most active on the definitely educational side are concerned first of all with social work, and the majority of those connected with the Federation of Residential Settlements, though retaining adult education as part of their traditional objective, give it practically no place in their programme.

NOTE: THE RUGBY GUILDHOUSE.

The Rugby Guildhouse will be opened in the autumn of 1925. Old Rugbeians have purchased and presented, as a memorial to Dr. Percival—a famous Headmaster—a house near the School buildings. The promotion of an Educational Settlement was undertaken three or four years ago by the local W.E.A. branch and Adult Schools. Full co-operation has now been secured from the School, the University of Cambridge Extra-Mural Board, the L.E.A., and all the local organisations concerned with adult education, and the Council will be composed accordingly. This is the first definite outcome of the Report on *The Guildhouse*.

SECTION 8

PROVISION BY NEUTRAL ORGANISATIONS FOR BIBLICAL AND RELATED STUDIES.

In adult education there is bound to be a measure of interpenetration between the membership of Churches and other organisations on a spiritual basis and the membership of bodies that are neutral in matters of religion. The question of definite co-operation between the two types of organisation is considered elsewhere in this book. Such co-operation means that each recognises demands relevant to its function expressed through the other and responds, in virtue of its special qualifications, to the request made by that other for provision of facilities to be enjoyed by certain members of that other as well as by its own members. Agreed action of this kind apart, however, it will be found that neutral or " secular " bodies sometimes have lectures, classes or study-groups in subjects that might appear more appropriate to the curriculum of a body definitely associated with religion, and, though to a smaller degree perhaps, *vice versa*. It is therefore of interest, at this point, to look at any work done by neutral bodies that might appear to be particularly akin to the educational task of the Churches. Clearly, it cannot be argued that the demand to which the provision of these facilities is the response is of course made by those members of the body concerned who also happen to be connected with churches and kindred organisations. It may come entirely from those who have no sympathy with organised religion in any aspect. On the other hand it is quite possible, not to say probable, that people who are members both of a religious organisation and of a secular one may prefer to

pursue their special Biblical or kindred studies under the auspices of the neutral rather than the religious body : they may think they are more sure of dispassionate and thorough scholarship. Accordingly we must concern ourselves here with facts rather than with deductions from those facts, though the facts may lend force to certain suggestions about co-operation when we come to that subject.

In the two years 1919-21 the Local Lectures Syndicate of the University of Cambridge arranged three courses, each of six lectures. These were :

1920 Cambridge. The Bible as World Literature, by R. G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D.

1921 Ipswich. Perspective in English Religious Thought, by Rev. W. H. Draper, M.A., Master of The Temple.

1920 Hastings. Literary Studies of the Bible, by R. G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D.

The last-named was started as a twelve-lecture course, but could not be finished, owing to the lecturer's illness. He gave a short course in 1922 to complete it.[1]

An interesting observation is made by the Secretary for Lectures :

" There is much interest in courses of this kind, as we always find at our Summer Meetings. The difficulty, how-

[1] The Cambridge List for 1924-25 *offers* two courses by Mr. R. H. Thouless on The Psychology of Religion (12 or 6) and The Psychology of Religious Mysticism (6) respectively ; one by the Master of the Temple on New Perspectives in English Religious Thought (12 or 6), and two by the Dean of Salisbury on The History of Early Christian Thought (12 or 6), and Life and Letters in the Fourth Century (12 or 6) respectively ; while courses by the Dean on Biblical subjects can also be arranged. The Joint Extension Board of Bristol University and Southampton and Exeter University Colleges offers, for 1924-25, courses by Prof. A. A. Cock, Professor of Philosophy and Education at Southampton, on Problems of Religious Education (6) and on The Philosophy of Religion (3 or 6) ; by Mr. S. J. Crawford, Lecturer in English at Southampton, on The Evangelical Revival as reflected in Eighteenth Century Literature (4 or 5), with one specially interesting lecture on Changes of Meaning in the English of the Bible and Prayer-Book ; by the Rev. E. S. Lyttel, Professor of History at Southampton, on Science and Religion (1 or 3).

ever, is that an ordinary Extension Committee, which has to make its courses pay financially, finds that the support of religious subjects is not general. In one or two cases there has been a sub-committee arranging the work in touch with the Extension Committee, but different from it."

In 1920-21 three similar courses of six lectures were arranged by the Extension Delegacy of the University of Oxford. These were :

Literary Studies in the Bible, by R. G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D.

Christianity and Some Modern Problems, by Canon Peter Green, M.A. (This course was delivered at two centres in different parts of the country.)

The Secretary to the Delegacy says :

" Dr. R. G. Moulton's course was arranged by our ordinary University Extension Local Committee at Tunbridge Wells, and has since been followed by another course from Dr. Moulton. The courses given by Canon Peter Green were also arranged by our Local Committees at Keswick and Mold respectively. The Keswick course excited so much interest, and drew such large audiences, that nothing would satisfy them but to have Canon Green again. He was not available last year, but they have got him again this winter (1922). At both Keswick and Mold the entire audience stayed for the class discussion afterwards. (The average audience was 218 at Keswick and 129 at Mold.) His reception at Mold is the more interesting, as a considerable portion of the supporters of University Extension there is Nonconformist, but they made Canon Green very welcome. . . .

" I have no doubt that we ought to get much more work of the same kind going, but local committees are perhaps unduly nervous about the sectarian difficulty. I believe that they exaggerate it, and I feel sure that any lecturer whom the Delegacy invites to do such work will not abuse his opportunity by taking any sectarian advantage of it. . . . We have some more lecturers very well qualified for the work on whom we could call if the demand came. For instance Canon V. F. Storr, of Westminster Abbey, was willing to go to a centre of ours for that purpose, but the project was not realised." [1]

At the request of a small Committee of representative

[1] The Oxford Report for the year ending Sept. 1923 records a course of six lectures arranged by the Local Education Authority at Swindon on " Religion and Liberty."

Anglican and Free Church Biblical scholars, gathered together by a keen laywoman, the University of London Extension Board has arranged for Miss Marjory West, B.A., B.D., to give a course of lectures at University College on "The Literary and Historical Study of the Bible" during the autumn and winter of 1925. A course had previously been given under the auspices of the Board at a Free Church in North London on Sunday mornings and had proved highly successful, but the promoters considered that the lectures would be more attractive to the general public if held on premises not connected with any denomination.

The Registrar of the University Extension Board of the University of London, which arranged the following courses of Bible Study and Jewish History in 1919-21, remarks :

"There would be many more such courses in Bible Study but for the argument that University Extension Courses are too expensive for individual congregations to arrange. I think, however, it should always be possible for a congregation to arrange at all events for a short course." [1]

1919-20 Toynbee Hall. Jewish History, a series by eleven lecturers. This was a terminal course held at Toynbee Hall in co-operation with the Jewish Historical Society of England.

1920-21 Toynbee Hall. Jewish History, a series by ten lecturers. This was a terminal course held at Toynbee Hall in co-operation with the Jewish Historical Society of England.

1920-21 Kingsway Hall. Literary Studies in the Bible by R. G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D.[2]

Kingsway Hall. Historical Studies in the Old Testament, by Norman Baynes, M.A.

Camberwell. Outlines of the History of the Undivided Church up to A.D. 801, by Rev. J. A. Douglas, B.A., B.D.[3]

[1] This difficulty is met, at least in part, by the new Board of Education (Adult Education) Regulations, 1924 (see pp. 151 ff. *supra*).

[2] A terminal course arranged by the University Extension Board. The illness of Dr. Moulton caused modification of original course, and the last five lectures were taken by Mr. Baynes.

[3] Short course arranged in co-operation with the Talbot House Settlement.

In Harrogate Canon Peter Green delivered a very successful course of six lectures on Christian Ethics under the auspices of the Oxford University Extension Delegacy, and also an interesting course of six on "The Christian Church and some Modern Intellectual and Spiritual Problems," by direct arrangement with the local Committee, while Miss C. T. Cumberbirch, Vice-Principal of the Hull Municipal Training College, gave at Harrogate and elsewhere under the auspices of the Cambridge University Local Lectures Syndicate a particularly excellent course of twelve on "The Art of Teaching, with special reference to Sunday School Work." It is interesting to find in the Liverpool University Extension Board's list of lectures and courses one course on "Principles of Teaching as applied to Sunday School work," by the Head Master of the Holt School, Liverpool, who also offers a course on "Religious Teaching in the Day School": a course by the Bursar of the University on "The Sunday School": and one by the Rev. the Principal of Warrington Training College on "Principles of Teaching as applied to Sunday School Teaching." But no directly Biblical or Theological subjects are included in the list, though, as will be seen later, the Board has endeavoured to work in close co-operation with the Churches.

The University of Manchester, which has a Theological Faculty, naturally arranges public lectures in subjects with which the Faculty deals, as do the University of Durham and King's College in the University of London. The Secretary to the Senate of Manchester University says that:

"The Faculty of Theology has done some not very systematic work in short courses open to the public generally, and not arranged for any religious organisation, such as a recent course by Professor Calder on 'Paganism and Christianity in Asia Minor.' It is probable that some Hibbert Lectures will be arranged by the Faculty of Theology next session (1921-22)."

But it is interesting to find a University like Leeds, and a University College like Nottingham, which have no Theological Faculties, arranging public lectures or offering Extension

courses in this department of study. Clearly there must be some general demand, or Leeds would not arrange a course of eight public lectures by the Principal of the Leeds Clergy School on "Some Features of the Life and Thought of the Apostolic Age." Similarly Nottingham University College arranges public lectures at the College, usually several in each session, on subjects of this kind, and includes in its list of Extension lectures "The Psychology of Christian Personality" (6): "The Sociological Value of Christianity" (6): "The History of Religion" (12-24): "The Psychology of Religion" (12-24): "The Literature of the Old Testament (12-24): "Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia—The Background of Bible History" (12-24).

Several of the Universities have arranged special courses for Sunday School teachers, day school teachers, individual congregations, or particular societies, but these have been noticed under the heading of Co-operation, elsewhere in this book.[1]

University Tutorial Classes dealing with subjects of this kind have been few. One such class was carried on by the Liverpool University Committee in 1919-20 and 1920-21. The subject was Jewish History and the class was arranged specially for Jews, but in the second year doctrinal differences led to the majority of the students leaving the class, which then collapsed. Another instance was a one-year class at Cardiff, but Wales does not come within our purview. (The reference to Mold above has been retained because of the remark made regarding it by the Secretary to the University Extension Delegacy.) One or two W.E.A. districts have announced single lectures, or series of two or three, on the Bible, but the total amounts to very little. There have, however, been several classes (both one-year and three-year) on "The Comparative Study of Religion" and on "The Philosophy of Religion" during the history of the W.E.A. Unfortunately particulars of these cannot now be obtained.

The Bristol W.E.A. has for many years offered lectures and study circles on definite religious topics, though it is

[1] Cf. pp. 146, 316, 322 *supra*, 418 ff. *infra*.

only fair to say in this connection that it worked in unusually close co-operation with the Adult Schools (which are very strong in Bristol), the Y.M.C.A., and similar organisations through a joint committee.[1] None the less, a typical list of religious subjects, such as that which forms part of the Syllabus for Study Circles issued by the Joint Committee in 1916-17, was intended to appeal to the general public. It comprises short courses of from three to six " Talks " on " The Bible and Modern Scholarship," " The Book of Daniel," " The Development of Modern Ideas in the Old Testament," " Studies in the Teaching of Jesus," " The Growth of the New Testament," " How we got our Bible," " Prophecy," " Other Religions than Ours," " The Modern Pilgrim's Progress to the Celestial City as described by some Modern Writers," " The Religion of the Great Composers," " Studies in the Book of Genesis," and " Studies in the Synoptic Gospels," together with a number of single " Talks " on similar topics. Most of the lecturers are clergy, ministers, or laymen and women connected with the various churches.

In a northern industrial town an interesting and very successful experiment by a W.E.A. branch was the provision, on Sunday afternoons, of a course of lectures in a Congregational Church by a member of the Mirfield Community of the Resurrection on the origin of the books of the Old Testament. The subject was treated on non-sectarian lines. Keen interest was manifested by members of all churches and of none. Discussion was vigorous ; a second series is to be arranged for the winter of 1924-25.

Other W.E.A. districts have arranged lectures or classes in such subjects at the request of religious bodies, but the demand has not been great, and all such instances of definite co-operation belong to our chapter on that subject.

Speaking of Yorkshire a W.E.A. District Secretary says :

" The only class (*i.e.* university tutorial class) that I know on definite Biblical subjects is one held by Dr. Duff in Bradford. I cannot say one has much request for anything of this sort, because, as you know, the clergy are usually

[1] See pp. 427 ff. *infra.*

willing to do this sort of thing for their own churches. There is no need to call upon outsiders, and other people who are not attached to churches are not interested in these subjects. Probably thirty years ago they would have been, when Rationalism, Free Will, Evolution, and all the rest of it were such controversial questions." [1]

One difficulty in the way of Local Education Authorities and University Joint Committees with regard to providing evening classes, lectures, and one or three year tutorial classes on subjects of this type has been that no Government grants were available for classes in religious subjects. This is remedied by the new Regulations, issued in 1924.[2]

For some thirteen years continuously the National Home Reading Union has had courses (differing each year) on "The Bible as Literature," and it may therefore be presumed that the subject is one that creates interest and is pursued by a considerable number of readers. The Secretary writes concerning this :

"I have no figures to prove this, for our members are not asked to report what they read, but I have good reason to think that it is widely studied."

On the whole, supply follows demand, and though the demand through other than specifically religious organisations for education in subjects related to religion is steadily increasing, it is as yet comparatively small.

[1] See also pp. 422 f. *infra*.

[2] See p. 152 *supra*.

SECTION 9

EXISTING EXAMPLES OF LOCAL CO-OPERATION

A. IN WHICH CHURCHES ARE CLOSELY CONCERNED

For more than ten years there has been in Nottingham a Conjoint Committee of the Sunday School Union and the Church Federation of Sunday Schools, each sending six representatives, and to this Committee the Senate of the University College has appointed two members. For eight or nine years the Committee arranged short six-week courses of lectures upon Scriptural and allied subjects useful to Sunday School teachers and parents, organising also from time to time special conference weeks, with practical demonstrations to illustrate class management, and sessions on Primary, Junior, or Intermediate Departments in Sunday Schools. But in 1919 the Committee decided to go further by arranging for a three years' course of study, in evening classes at the College, of the Bible, the Psychology of Religion, and Child-Psychology, together with practical classes, demonstrations, and criticism lessons. It is now suggested that this work might be extended to other centres, allied courses being arranged in the form of a series of University Extension courses plus a University Tutorial Class, for Sunday School teachers who cannot go to the College itself.

At Liverpool a Joint Committee (of the Sunday School Union and the Sunday School Institute, together with the Secretary of the University Extension Board) has for many years arranged lectures for the purpose of helping Sunday School teachers. Dr. G. S. Veitch states concerning these :

" Two sets of courses, each covering three years, were arranged by this Committee before the War, and examina-

tions were held at the close of each session qualifying for certificates on each three years' course. The courses covered subjects like 'The Principles of Teaching, as applied to Sunday School Work,' and specialised studies of certain books of the Bible, as well as topics like 'The Roman Empire in the time of Christ.' They are not very easy to arrange, owing to the necessity for harmonising different sets of opinions. This year (1921) we have revived the plan, and have begun a new series with a course on 'Principles of Education applied to Sunday School Work.' Some students attended some of the early ones. This year I suppose two hundred tickets were sold, and I should judge that one hundred and fifty people attended, on the average." [1]

The University of Leeds in the winter of 1920-21 arranged a course on religious education, given by members of the University staff, at the request of the chief Sunday School organisations of the city. Some hundreds of Sunday School teachers attended this course, which was continued in the winter of 1921-22. Manchester University has arranged courses on various aspects of teaching in Sunday Schools and the use of the Bible in teaching. A few years ago Cambridge had a very successful series of Extension Lectures at Hull, specially for Sunday School teachers; a Committee was formed which included representatives of the Church of England Sunday School Institute, the Free Church Sunday School Union, the National Union of Teachers, the Town Council, and the University Extension Committee: two courses were arranged, one being that by Miss Cumberbirch on "The Art of Teaching, with special reference to Sunday School Work," to which reference has already been made in a previous Section: [2] similar arrangements were made for courses at Sunderland and Harrogate, where also Miss Cumberbirch delivered her twelve lectures. At Southampton the University College has provided occasional lectures for Sunday School teachers in co-operation with the Sunday School Union.

[1] Letter of 6th June, 1921. For a further account, see article "University Extension Courses" in *The Encyclopaedia of Sunday Schools and Religious Education*, vol. iii. (1915).

[2] See p. 413 *supra*.

The Teachers' Christian Union drew its membership principally from among elementary and secondary teachers interested in questions relating to religious education, though membership was open also to all sharing that interest—Sunday School teachers, parents and others. While, therefore, the work it did can hardly be regarded as an effort on the part of the Churches, but rather as an enterprise of a kindred body, its co-operation with universities might well be mentioned here. The Southampton branch, by co-operation with the Oxford University Extension Delegacy, arranged a course of six lectures by Professor Cock, of the University College, on "The Presentation of the Idea of God to Children and Adolescents," and though the attendance was smaller than had been hoped, the course was greatly appreciated. In co-operation with the University of London the Central Committee of the Teachers' Christian Union arranged several courses of Extension Lectures for Day and Sunday School teachers and parents: these included courses on "The Synoptic Portrait of Jesus," "How to Teach the Old Testament," and "Apocalyptic Literature." The Education Committee of the Auxiliary Movement, into which the Teachers' Christian Union has been absorbed, arranged a similar course by Professor Kennett in London for the spring term of 1923 and one by Professor Dodd for the autumn term of 1924.

As we have already seen, Swarthmore Educational Settlement has always endeavoured to make special provision for the needs of religious workers, especially teachers in Sunday Schools, leaders of Bible Classes, and workers in adult schools. The same is true in a less degree of other Educational Settlements. Talbot House Settlement, London, again, in pursuit of its scheme for training women for religious work, arranged for a course of lectures on "Early Church History" to be provided by London University. These are not examples of definite co-operation on the part of churches, however, so much as of attempts made by Settlements to meet needs expressed by individual church workers and not met by the churches themselves. As to Universities, Colleges, and

the Workers' Educational Association, a few quotations will make the position clear.

Sir Michael Sadler says with regard to Leeds :

"It should not be forgotten that in connection with nearly every place of worship in the city there are literary societies which offer annual courses, generally of single lectures. In this work members of the University staff take an active part. I am bound to say that, as a rule, the attendances are small, but I think that the work is valuable. The pity is that a good many of these organisations cannot be grouped together, so as to make it worth while for the lecturer to attend." [1]

Dr. Veitch, late Secretary of the Liverpool University Extension Board, says, after dealing with the special provision for Sunday School teachers described above :

"Work of a less specialised kind has been done by the University Extension Board in conjunction with various churches. In Dr. Connell's time, and I believe earlier, Sefton Park Presbyterian Church organised an Extension Centre of the usual type. This year an Extension Course was arranged in conjunction with St. Peter's Church, Rock Ferry. For three years short courses have been arranged with the Ethical Church, Windsor Street, and a single lecture was this year arranged for the Literary Society of the Presbyterian Church at Heswall. These things do not in themselves amount to very much, but they are an indication that Extension work could be done in connection with churches, if there were any local demand for it. Indeed churches have even a great advantage in the fact that they have usually a suitable room at their disposal, and do not need to incur the heavy expense for the hire of a room which seems to cripple some other centres. I should be disposed to press the view that churches could facilitate Extension work very much by using their rooms and organisations to provide centres. St. Peter's Church, Rock Ferry, has a plan that might be followed in other places. There they have an active Literary Society. When it arranged its courses for last year it included five Extension lectures distributed throughout its programme. No additional cost, therefore, was incurred for advertising. The lectures were paid for by a special charge of 1s. for each lecture, and a very good audience was obtained. I think that if this plan

[1] Letter of 30th May, 1921.

were followed (and I have heard of its being followed in North Wales in connection with churches served by Bangor) it would be possible, at comparatively small expense, to test the demand for Extension lectures in many neighbourhoods." [1]

The Rev. D. H. S. Cranage, Litt.D., speaking of the experience of Cambridge, says :

" Our association with churches and other religious organisations has not been a very close one, but of course individual members of these bodies are often, I might say generally, our secretaries and prominent supporters. The Churches as a whole, however, rarely undertake University Extension work. . . . You will readily understand that there are difficulties in the way of arranging theological lectures in connection with an ordinary Extension centre. We make a point of such lectures at our Summer Meetings, and these are much appreciated by people of all denominations." [2]

The Rev. F. E. Hutchinson speaks similarly of Oxford; he says :

" I fear there is not a great deal to report which is either encouraging or important. This Delegacy has made some attempt to provide lectures on Biblical Knowledge and Religious Thought. A few years ago a few lecturers were added to our panel in the hope that their services would be asked for, but the demand so far has been very small. The lecturers were well-known Oxford scholars, competent, and interesting, but with few exceptions there has been no work for them. . . . The ordinary Extension Committee is not always in a position to arrange for such courses, partly from some timidity on the ground of denominational feeling, but even this difficulty is not insuperable. . . . I am hoping always that this particular difficulty is becoming less every year, but it is still a barrier in many places, and committees are inclined to follow the line of least resistance and avoid the risk. A considerable amount of provision is made for religious instruction in our forthcoming Summer Meeting programme. Our lecturers are drawn from Churches as far apart as the Roman Catholic and the Unitarian, and for the first time the Delegacy has arranged that all these lectures

[1] Letter of 6th June, 1921. Union Chapel, Manchester, follows this plan, and doubtless a few other churches do also. See Section 3, p. 322 *supra*.

[2] Letter of 25th May, 1921.

take place in the same building and on the same footing, without overlapping, We felt that people were quite ready by this time for such a development, and I think that it will be generally approved.

"I do not know of any other University agency, so far as Oxford is concerned, which is attempting work of this kind. I hope that this Delegacy may be able to do more than it has yet done in this direction, and I am always watching for opportunities of development." [1]

We have already quoted Mr. John Lea, Registrar of the University of London Extension Board, who reports practically no courses arranged in direct co-operation with churches, though a number have been carried through at the request of kindred organisations.

Prof. Robert Peers says of the Extra-Mural Department of Nottingham University College :

"We have done absolutely nothing with the Churches. Apart from one or two tentative enquiries, which have led to nothing, there has apparently been no demand. I am not very hopeful of that line of development at present. The nearest approach we have had to religious study was a three-year tutorial class on 'Philosophy and Religion,' which finished last year. There has been no fresh demand." [2]

Enquiries of W.E.A. District Secretaries have elicited practically no evidence of active co-operation on the part of the churches. One particularly interesting exception is that of a Roman Catholic Study Club in Economics, with a Priest as tutor, which developed into a one-year class and arranged to be taken over as it was by the W.E.A. Here and there an individual congregation, or more often a Men's Bible Class attached to some church, has affiliated to the local branch of the W.E.A., and presumably has encouraged its members to attend such lectures and classes as the W.E.A. might organise, but apparently has taken no distinctive part in shaping the policy and programme. The views of one W.E.A. District Secretary are cited elsewhere.[3]

[1] Letter of July, 1921. [2] Letter of 28th November, 1922.

[3] *Vide* p. 415 *supra*.

The only other District Secretary who was able to say anything at all definite reports thus :

" In several cases successful classes in connection with churches have been organised in our district, but the number is very small in proportion to the total number of our classes, and even in cases where classes are held on the premises of a church many of the students have no other connection with the place. For instance, we have two Tutorial Classes meeting at a chapel—but quite a large percentage of the students have no other connection with the chapel. It could not be said that we have a class composed entirely of members of any particular church. . . . We held a Tutorial Class at an Anglican church in response to an application from the members. Their lack of interest was so great that *any* function organised by the church was considered sufficient reason for absence from the class. The result was the poorest Tutorial Class in my experience." [1]

Reference has already been made to the paucity of co-operation between churches and Local Education Authorities. The difficulties are common to many voluntary organisations. Thus a Y.W.C.A. report on co-operation with L.E.A.'s says :

" On the whole there is little evidence of co-operation with the Local Education Authorities. A fair number of Y.W.C.A. club centres have, from time to time, had classes, mainly in domestic subjects and physical drill, but a very general expression of opinion is that, on the whole, it is not easy for the clubs satisfactorily to avail themselves of the facilities offered by the L.E.A. for the following reasons :

1. The number of students required for classes is too large.

2. The difficulty of securing regular attendance throughout a series of classes is so great that leaders hesitate to embark upon one.

3. Several leaders have stated they consider the length of individual classes to be excessive ; one instance given was that of a club leader who had endeavoured to use the facilities offered by the L.E.A. for instruction in music, but found them unsuitable on account of the insistence that one hour of a two-hour class must be given to theory.

" As illustrating the above, two London club leaders of differing type, but both trying to make the most of local

[1] Letter of 9th December, 1922.

opportunities, agree that on the whole, ours being industrial girls, they are too fatigued to attend the classes either in sufficient numbers or with sufficient regularity for us to be able to get the teachers to qualify for the grant.

" The correspondent who gives this information suggests that if anything could be done to give a discretionary allowance to duly qualified club leaders it would be a splendid thing and give us a chance of doing far more educational work.

" Our Divisional Secretary for Wales, who has to deal with a number of country clubs, states that these are too small to make it possible to guarantee the requisite number of pupils, though she speaks warmly of the willingness of the L.E.A. to help where this has been possible. It is pointed out that the large bulk of our members are girls industrially employed, of adolescent age, from between 16 to 20, and that it is a matter of extreme difficulty to get these girls, tired after a long day's work, to settle to any serious educational work." [1]

B. IN WHICH CHURCHES TAKE LITTLE OR NO PART

The Maidstone Fellowship for Adult Education is formed by the association for this purpose of the local Adult School Movement, the Co-operative Educational Committee, Fraternity in Education, Maidstone Women's Institute, National Union of Teachers' Branch, Women Citizens' Association, Workers' Educational Association Branch, and Y.M.C.A. It

" has no end in view save to stimulate and foster the spread of those aims and ideals which are held in common by the Societies of which it is composed. It has an Executive Committee and a Secretary, but its membership consists of the full body of members of the associated Societies. It aims at providing a meeting-place where questions affecting the welfare of those Societies may be discussed, and where the work undertaken by each may be co-ordinated in order to prevent, as far as possible, overlapping and consequent loss of energy." [2]

It issues a handbook containing particulars of the activities and programmes of the constituent societies, and it looks towards becoming in the future " a centre of propaganda for

[1] Memorandum prepared by Miss Irene Cox, Secretary to the Y.W.C.A. National Council, 31st August, 1921.

[2] *Handbook* (1921-22).

the dissemination of those civic and educational ideals which form the *raison d'être* of its associated Societies.[1]

Croydon has a similar Committee on Adult Education (founded in 1920) which includes representatives of the Choral Society, the Adult School, the Art Society, the Educational Lecture Committee, the Foreign Language Club, the Free Church Council, the Croydon Branch of the Historical Society, the Croydon Branch of the National Home Reading Union, the Natural History and Scientific Society, the Philharmonic Society, the School of Art, the Croydon Branch of the Women Citizens' Association, the Croydon Branch of the Women's Co-operative Guild, the Croydon Branch of the W.E.A., the Y.M.C.A., the North End Brotherhood, the Thornton Heath Branch of the Women's Co-operative Guild, and certain personal members. This Committee meets for discussion of the programmes proposed by the constituent societies, and the issue of a joint programme when details have been settled. It has a University Extension Lecture Sub-Committee. It advises with regard to books and reading, lecturers and subjects, the starting of new educational bodies and of local branches of existing national societies. It arranges courses of lectures on civic government and courses of University Extension Lectures. There is a feeling locally that some positive, definite centre—in fact, something in the nature of an Educational Settlement—is required, so that different activities may be carried on under the same roof by various societies, a common meeting-place may be available, and joint educational efforts may be made.

A fruitful experiment was initiated at Bradford by the City Director of Education, and has now become an established factor in adult education there. Approaching the various educational and learned societies he suggested that they should form a Federation of Educational Societies, which they did, making the Director their Honorary Secretary. The list of societies in the Federation now is as follows: Arts Club, Astronomical Society, English Society, Bradford Centre of the British Music Society, Circle for Foreign

[1] *Ibid.*

Languages, Educational Handwork Association, Esperanto Society, Free Chamber Concerts, Bradford and District Branch of the Froebel Society, Geographical Association, Historical and Antiquarian Society, Bradford Branch of the Historical Association, Bradford Branch of the Home Music Union, Natural History and Microscopical Society, Oxford University Extension Lectures, Permanent Orchestra Concerts, Photographic Society, Playgoers' Society, Scientific Association, Workers' Educational Association, Y.M.C.A., and Y.W.C.A. It will be observed that of the organisations with which we have been dealing in this study the Churches and Church Societies and the Adult Schools alone are not represented, though the basis of the Federation would make it more natural than otherwise for them to be included. There is no Settlement in Bradford.

The Federation is carried on under the auspices of the Bradford Education Committee, and the prefatory note to each winter, spring, or summer programme states that the Federation was formed with the object of preventing the clashing of dates or the overlapping of the subjects dealt with ; of issuing this joint programme ; and of taking any other joint action which seems desirable from time to time. There is an arrangement by which certain lectures in the list of any of the federated societies (these lectures being starred in the programme) may be attended free of charge by the members of any other society in the Federation, on production of their cards of membership. From the syllabuses of the societies panels of lecturers, etc., have been supplied. Towards the end of 1920 the Adult Education Scheme was developed by the inauguration of interesting Lecture Evenings for Adults at various centres in the city. The programmes, which were made up of items selected by local committees from the panels, comprise concerts, lectures and playreadings, and have been well attended. The winter sessions have been followed by programmes of Rambles for Adults (arranged by the Historical, Antiquarian, and Natural History Societies), which also have been well attended. Admission to these lectures and participations in the rambles

is free. Lecturers, musicians and guides receive out of pocket expenses, and in the case of professionals, a full fee.

Advertisements are inserted in the Press and supplies of handbills are distributed to the various churches and other associations in the city, while panels are sent to all secretaries of Guilds, etc. who apply, and good use is made of them.

On the model of this very excellent Federation, similar experiments have been made in other towns (notably Blackpool and Brighton), but as yet the idea has not been made known as widely as could be wished. An outstanding example of a local Adult Education Committee which promotes as well as federates work throughout the area of the L.E.A. is that at Sheffield.

Wolverhampton has recently held a town's meeting at which a Union of Adult Educational Associations was formed and a representative committee appointed to "link up mutual interests between the various organisations engaged in the many forms of Adult Education and to promote in every possible way the welfare of the local societies, without interference with their individuality." The committee has issued a pamphlet giving details of the arrangements made for 1924-5 by the various societies, and was instructed to report from time to time to a conference of all the local voluntary associations, it being strongly supported by the Local Education Authority. The only religious organisations that appear are the Adult Schools and the Y.M.C.A.

Mention has already been made of the Bristol Joint Committee, promoted by the Bristol Workers' Educational Association and the Bristol Adult School Union, which for a number of years issued an annual "Syllabus of Suggested Subjects for Study Circles," with names of lecturers and leaders, information as to number of lectures or meetings in a course, and so forth. A considerable number of local educational organisations availed themselves of this and of the services of the Committee's two honorary secretaries in making arrangements to hold classes and circles. Religious Study formed a very considerable feature in the syllabus, but other equally well-filled divisions were Art and Music,

Biography, History and Geography, Literature and Philosophy, Science, Social Study and Political Science, Travel. The Committee also arranged for small parties to be shown art collections, travel views, etc., or to hear short illustrated talks on the Great Musicians, at the houses of owners of art collections, travellers, musicians, and so forth. It also arranged a special class of Religious Study (*e.g.* on " Primitive Christianity in its Historical Setting ") at the University Settlement. This led to a great deal of active co-operation among adult educational agencies in the city, the W.E.A. being foremost in helping other societies, while also professors and lecturers at the University were very ready to assist. The Secretary of the W.E.A. says concerning all this :

" We have in previous years arranged classes in conjunction with the Y.M.C.A. in Bristol. During the present session we are doing so at Bath, Weston-super-Mare, and Clutton. We have two classes at Taunton and these are held at the rooms of the Y.M.C.A. I find that there is a strong objection amongst some trade unionists in some places to meeting under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. Generally we try to arrange classes on premises not connected with any religious organisation. In that way we do not upset any people's susceptibilities. The Bristol W.E.A. has for many years offered lectures and study circles on definite religious topics. We have also co-operated with a local body in arranging courses in Biblical Research, in which the Rev. Canon Gamble has been the lecturer." [1]

The W.E.A. and the University Settlement at Bristol have, of course, always co-operated very closely, and the Bristol Folkhouse does the same. The Joint Committee still continues its work with the Education Committee of the Bristol Co-operative Society and other (unspecified) societies represented on it. Within the last three years, however, two other co-operative movements have arisen in Bristol. The Final Report of the Adult Education Committee recommended the formation, for certain large areas, of Joint Adult Education Committees comprising representatives of the University, the Local Education Authorities, and the Voluntary Organisations. The purpose of such committees

[1] Letter of 29th November, 1922.

would be to co-ordinate existing effort, promote new enterprise, form panels of lecturers and tutors, help to allocate public grants, and so forth. The University of Bristol took the initiative in its own area, and a Joint Adult Education Committee was formed, including representatives of the University, neighbouring county and county borough Education Committees and voluntary organisations of all kinds, but principally the W.E.A., the Adult Schools, the Y.M.C.A., and the Settlements. Owing to lack of funds and consequently of a whole-time or at least a part-time paid secretary, the Committee has up till now accomplished little of a practical kind.[1]

The other new development is that of the Folkhouse, an Educational Settlement established by the co-operation, first of the Baptist Church and the Bristol Adult School Union, and then of the University, Local Education Authority, the W.E.A. and other bodies, unofficial representatives of which sit on the Settlement Committee, an increasing proportion of the Committee members being elected by the students. A description of the Folkhouse work is given in our chapter on Settlements, and its special interest at this point is in its origin through co-operation between a church and a kindred organisation, and its characteristic Educational Settlement method of offering a central meeting-place, a common home and community spirit, to all the adult educational organisations in the city that choose to participate.

The Nottingham University College has gone further, in practice, than the University of Bristol, and indeed than any other University or University College,[2] by establishing an Adult Education Department which has the same status in

[1] Since this chapter was written the University of Bristol has established an Adult Education Department, chiefly in order to co-ordinate the various activities of the University itself in Adult Education. Oxford and Cambridge also have remodelled their arrangements for Extra-mural work, bringing them all under one Delegacy and one Board, respectively, for Extra-mural Studies.

[2] Cf. preceding note. In Wales, Aberystwyth has for some four or five years had a full-time Director of Extra-mural work.

the College as any other department, such as that of History or of Engineering. The Director of the Department is *ipso facto* a member of the College Senate. A Departmental Committee is appointed, with a nucleus of nine College representatives, who, with an equal number of workers' representatives, form a joint Committee for Tutorial Classes on the usual basis, while with representatives of other academic institutions, Local Education Authorities, and voluntary organisations they form a University Extension Committee. The two committees in joint session form the Standing Departmental Committee for Extra-Mural Adult Education. The composition of the Extension Committee is nine College members, one nominated by each of the following: University College, Leicester, Leicester Technical College, Loughborough Technical College, Derby Technical College, Lincoln Technical College, and the Midland Agricultural College (and one nominated by each similar institution, in any of the six counties comprised in the East Midland area, which may from time to time be approved); one nominated by each of the L.E.A.'s concerned in the work of the Department; two nominated by the W.E.A. District Council, two by the Adult School Unions of Nottingham and Leicester, and one each by the National Co-operative Union, the Women's Institutes, the Y.M.C.A., the Council of the East Midlands Educational Union, the Vaughan Memorial College at Leicester, and each recognised University Extension Local Committee (with one each nominated by any other organisations which may from time to time be approved). The Chairman of Council, the Principal, and the Vice-Principal of the College are ex-officio members.

The aim of the Department is to "co-ordinate all activities concerned with the extension of University teaching in the East Midlands, and to assist voluntary organisations and Local Education Authorities to stimulate and organise the demand for higher education among adults." Its functions are to provide a course of training leading to a diploma or a certificate (as stated in our last chapter), to provide university tutorial classes, one-year classes, courses of extension lectures

and pioneer lectures, to make arrangements for group study, to act as a clearing-house and centre of information for all who are engaged in adult education in the district, to keep lists of lecturers and tutors and registers of voluntary bodies interested in adult education—and indeed to do anything that may be of value in this connection. In addition it has arranged two-day-a-week intra-mural courses for adult students, eight of whom have taken up work by leave of their employers and by means of the help afforded by employers and others. The Department has already shown its willingness to arrange lectures and classes for all sorts of voluntary organisations within the area, but as Professor Peers, the Director, states in the letter quoted earlier in this Section, there has been no response from the churches.

The latest Report of the Department, issued in February 1924, gives evidence of remarkable progress. In addition to the Director and three Staff Tutors, one of whom was appointed in connection with the Nottinghamshire Miners' Welfare Scheme of Adult Education, the Department now has 25 recognised tutors taking one or two tutorial classes each and 11 tutors taking one year classes only. The Department has now 44 tutorial classes—a larger number than any other University Joint Committee in England and Wales can show. Amongst a great deal of exceedingly interesting information the Report contains two paragraphs of particular relevance to our enquiry :

" Three of the new Tutorial Classes have developed out of Preparatory Classes established for the first time in the session 1922-23, and of these three one (Bucknall) is connected with the Adult School Movement, and another (Gotham) is held at a Y.M.C.A. Village Club. A one-year class in Nottingham has also been arranged in co-operation with the Y.M.C.A."

" The Committee appointed by the Department (at the request of the East Midland Division of the Y.M.C.A.) in the summer of 1922 to investigate the educational needs of the villages concluded their work in May 1923, and produced a valuable Report, entitled ' The Educational Possibilities of Village Clubs.' The Report has attracted a great deal of attention, and has been widely circulated and noticed

in the Press, several important journals having devoted leading articles to it. On the basis of the Report, Rural Community Councils have been established in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Leicestershire, and the Carnegie Trustees have made a grant of £1000 to assist in the development of social activities and educational work in the villages. There is no doubt that this will be one of the most important contributions made by the Department to the educational development of the East Midland area. The organising Secretary, Mr. E. E. Neale, B.A., has been provided with an office in the rooms occupied by the Department, and close contact will be maintained with the work of the Councils."

Thus we bring our survey to an end where not only all surveys, but even more certainly all practical efforts, must begin—in that local community which accounts people of greater importance than technique of organisation or of teaching, and living comradeship in quest of things that belong to the spirit more precious than gold—or orthodoxy.

FINIS.

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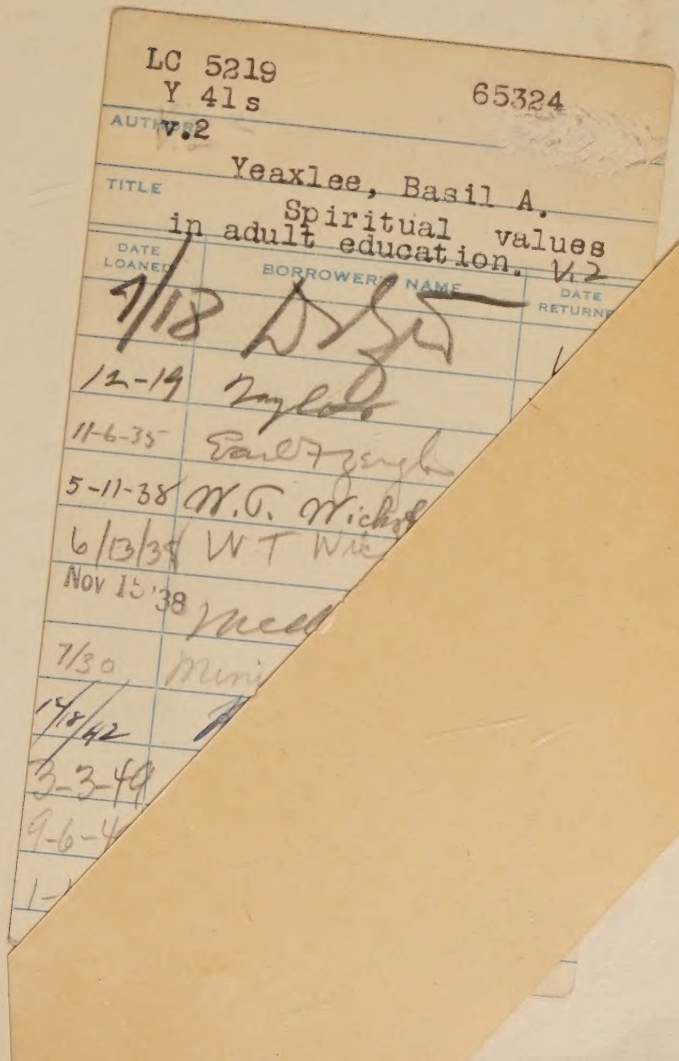
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